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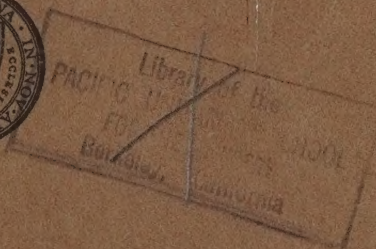
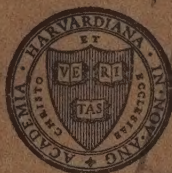
VOLUME XXVIII

NUMBER 1

# THE HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

JANUARY 1935

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# HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

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No. 1

## GREEK AND HEBREW WORDS IN JEROME'S COMMENTARY ON ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL

ALEXANDER SOUTER

UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN, SCOTLAND

READERS of St. Jerome's works are familiar with the fact that he often quotes Greek and Hebrew words in the course of these, sometimes depending on his master Origen, sometimes depending on his personal knowledge of both languages, which was considerable. In the autographs of these works it was his custom to place a line over the top of such words, as a sign that they were foreign.<sup>1</sup> Really old manuscripts of Jerome's works, apart from Vulgate MSS., are now rare. Such as were known to Traube are listed in his *Hieronymi Chronicorum codicis Floriacensis fragmenta Leidensia, Parisina, Vaticana phototypice edita* (Lugd. Bat. 1902).<sup>2</sup> But good early minuscule MSS. of his works in many cases preserve these horizontal lines, and record the Greek and Hebrew words with considerable accuracy. As time goes on, the lines tend to disappear, and Latin transliterations, with or without the Greek, become more and more common. Most of the editions of Jerome are defective in two respects among others: they were not based on the oldest and best manuscripts, and the editors did not know very much Greek. It is hoped that the details furnished below will have some interest for students of Greek writing in the latter part of the fourth century.

Since the early part of 1931 I have been actively engaged in collating the six oldest MSS. of Jerome on St. Matthew with a view to my new edition for the Vienna *Corpus*. In this work I have been helped by several of my assistants, but particularly by Mr. R. J. Getty, now of Liverpool University. It is obvious

<sup>1</sup> This practice was not of course confined to him.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. viii-ix.

that the correctness with which Greek words are reproduced forms an excellent test of the relative accuracy of the mss. in general. Mr. Getty has very kindly, at my request, assessed the accuracy of the Greek in these individual mss. as well as a number of other mss. from which he or I had copied the Greek words. He considers that the order of merit is correct, though he does not wish the actual figures to be regarded as perfectly accurate.

The mss. referred to are these, in order of merit. An asterisk is attached to those of which I now possess full collations.

MSS.	Percentage of error
*Paris, B.N. 9530 (saec. viii-ix) (Echternach)	10.8
*Karlsruhe, Cod. Aug. exciv (saec. ix in.) (Reichenau)	18.75
*Boulogne, 47 (saec. viii) (Arras)	20.61
Aberdeen, 686 (saec. xii in.) (Bamberg)	25.45
*Rome, Vat. Pal. Lat. 177 (saec. ix in.) (Lorsch)	26.07
*Karlsruhe, Cod. Aug. cclxi (saec. viii-ix) (Reichenau)	26.25
Stuttgart, Theol. Philos. Fol. 208 (saec. viii-ix) (Zwiefalten)	33.00
Stuttgart, H.B. vii Patres (= B 67) (saec. viii-ix) (Weingarten)	37.5
St. Gall, 126 (saec. viii-ix) (St. Gall)	40.8
Munich, 6272 (saec. ix) (Freising)	53.23
*Karlsruhe, Cod. Aug. ccliii (saec. vii-viii) (Reichenau)	65.00

It would not be fitting to encumber these pages with lists of variants for each word or phrase. The only two manuscripts that are closely related to one another are the Boulogne and Rome mss. The critical basis is therefore sufficiently wide for the constitution of a good text throughout the whole work, though it would be imprudent to confine one's self to these manuscripts in preparing an edition of the commentary. I have, however, satisfied myself as to the true text for all, or almost all, of the foreign words that follow. The pages are those of Vallarsi's second edition, which pages are indicated in thick type in the Migne edition, *P.L.* xxvi. The words and phrases are given in the order of their occurrence. It is interesting to note that minuscule Latin mss. regularly retain the Greek letters in the uncial form. It was safer for Latin scribes ignorant of Greek to copy as nearly as possible what they saw in front of them. Occasionally, of course, the Latin letter nearest in form is substituted for the proper Greek letter: more rarely

a minuscule Greek form is risked. For greater ease of printing I have here discarded the horizontal lines above the words.

MSS.	VALLARSI, ed. 2
ΔΙΑΦΩΝΙΑC	11 C
ΧΡΗΜΑΤΙCΘΕΝΤΕC	14 E
CYMBOLON	18 A
KENOC	26 E
ΑΠΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΥ	27 A
ΕΥΝΩΝ	27 D
ΠΑΘΟC et ΠΡΟΠΑΘΕΙΑΝ	28 E
ΕΠΙΟΥCΙΟΝ	34 C
ΠΕΡΙΟΥCΙΟΝ	34 C
ΠΕΡΙΟΥCΙΟΝ (altero loco)	34 C
SOGOLLA	34 C
ΕΞΑΙΡΕΤΟΝ	34 C
ΜΑΔΑΡ	34 D <sup>3</sup>
ΕΚΑΚΩCΕΝ ΑΥΤΗΝ (= Gen. xvi 6)	38 A
ΕΠΙΤΑCΙC	45 D
ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥC	46 B
ΑΙΜΟΡΡΟΟΥCΑ	54 B <sup>4</sup>
ΚΩΦΟC	55 A
ΚΩΦΟΝ	55 A
ΖΗΛΩΤΗC	57 B
ΑΝΑΓΩΓΗΝ	59 B
ΧΑΙΡΕ	60 A
SALOMLACH sive SALAMALACH	60 A
ΜΟΡΙΑ	62 D
ΔΥΣΗCΙΝ	69 C
ΜΕΤΕΜΨΥΧΩCΙΝ	70 D
ΑΓΟΡΑ	71 D
ΑΦΥΚΤΟΝ(ΑΦΕΥΚΤΟΝ)	81 E
CΥΝΕΚΔΟΧΙΚΩC	83 C
ΠΑΡΑCΚΕΥΗC	83 C
ΕCΧΑ	86 C
ΤΟ ΛΟΓΙCΤΙΚΟΝ(ΛΟΓΙΚΟΝ)	94 A
ΤΟ ΘΥΜΙΚΟΝ	94 A
ΤΟ ΕΠΙΘΥΜΗΤΙΚΟΝ	94 A
ΜΕΤΕΜΨΥΧΩCΕΩC	100 D

<sup>3</sup> The words 'quod Graece dicitur ἀφανίζουσι' (p. 35 C) are not in any of my mss.

<sup>4</sup> In p. 155 B it is treated as a Latin word.



MSS.	VALLARSI, ed. 2
ΜΕΤΕΜΨΥΧΩCIC	100 D
CKOΛON	113 A
ΠΟΡΟΥC	114 D
ΚΥΛΛΟΥC	117 B
ΚΥΛΛΟC	117 B
ΚΥΛΛΟIC	117 C
ΙΛΕΩC COI $\overline{\text{ΚΕ}}$ (= Matth. xvi 22) <sup>5</sup>	126 D
ΘΕΩΡΗΤΙΚΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΟΝ	159 D
ΑΝΝΑ ΑΔΟΝΑΙ ΟSΙΑΝΝΑ	162 B <sup>6</sup>
ΤΗΚΝΑΜ (only in Roman ms) (elsewhere Lat. <i>technam</i> )	164 A <sup>7</sup>
ΤΡΑΓΗΜΑΤΑ	164 B
ΑΙΩΝ	167 D
ΜΕΤΑΦΟΡΑΝ (sometimes Latin)	172 E 176 E
ΔΕΥΤΕΡΩCΕIC	177 D
ΙΔΙΩΜΑΤΙ	178 C
ΠΤΩΜΑ	197 C
ΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΝ	207 E
PHASE	210 E
ΣΥΛΛΗΜΨIC <sup>8</sup>	212 C
ΡΗΕΛΜΟΝΙ ΕΤ ΗΕΛΜΟΝΙ	214 C
ΚΑΤΑ ΑΝΤΙΦΡΑCΙΝ	221 E
ΣΥΝΘΕΜΑ	225 E
ΑΝΑΓΩΓΗΝ	232 C
ΣΥΛΛΗΜΨIC	235 A
ΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΗC	239 B

<sup>5</sup> I know no manuscript authority for the other Greek words given here by Vallarsi.

<sup>6</sup> The Greek preceding the Hebrew in Vallarsi is not in the mss.

<sup>7</sup> The pages of Vallarsi are wrongly numbered here.

<sup>8</sup> It is delightful to find the M here and in 235 A: see Thackeray, *Grammar O. T.* I, p. 274; Moulton, *Grammar N. T.* I, p. 56, II, pp. 246 f.; Robertson, *Grammar N. T.* p. 210.

## SOME OBSERVATIONS ON RULER-CULT ESPECIALLY IN ROME

MARTIN PERCIVAL CHARLESWORTH

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

WITHIN recent years the subject of Ruler-Worship has attracted a great deal of attention from scholars, and much has been written upon it from various aspects, notably by those who are specialists in ancient religion. If I appear then to be trespassing I can only plead in excuse that the subject is of great, indeed of absorbing, interest for anyone who is a student of ancient civilization, and especially of the Roman Empire. What I offer here are some fruits of my reading in the ancient authors and the modern interpreters of their thought: all that can be done, of course, in short compass is to stress some results already ascertained, and to offer some observations of my own in the hope they may prove useful. But my debt to other scholars is obviously large: let me here mention with gratitude Adcock, Altheim, Bolkestein, Edson, Ferguson, Gow, Immisch, Pfister, Pippidi, K. Scott, Tarn and O. Weinreich, but above all A. D. Nock and Miss L. R. Taylor, who after Beurlier have contributed so much to advance our knowledge of ruler-cult.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes I have ventured to prefer my own opinion, but I can echo the amiable Vitruvius in declaring — "*neque alienis indicibus mutatis interposito nomine meo id profero corpus neque ullius cogitata vituperans institui ex eo me adprobare, sed omnibus scriptoribus infinitas ago gratias.*"

At the very outset there is a difficulty to be faced, — the difficulty of estimating impartially ancient religious feeling. Greeks and Romans, polytheists, could not comprehend the — to them — perverse intolerance of the monotheistic Jews and Christians. But the Christians won in the end, and we in our

<sup>1</sup> A short select Bibliography will be found at the end of this article.

turn are now fettered by traditional monotheistic conceptions: most American or European scholars, whatever their own religious beliefs or disbeliefs, have been brought up in a *milieu* and in a tradition resting upon a Jewish-Christian idea of God, sole, supreme, source of life and moral law. He is God with a capital G, and only by a most resolute effort can we grasp the attitude of people who could recognize an enormous number of gods of limited powers, and feel no qualms about adding to that number. Deep-hidden in us there seems to lurk a traditional disgust at the thought of according 'worship' to a mortal man, or else a slightly patronizing condescension, as when one writer speaks of "the facile blasphemy" of the famous Athenian paean to Demetrius Poliorcetes.

The phrase is misleading: blasphemy, in our sense of the word, was scarcely possible in the ancient world before the advent of Christianity. So long as a citizen joined in the cults of his city, words usually counted for little. True, in the third century, perversions such as that of the admiral Dicaearchus who set up altars to *Impiety* and *Lawlessness* everywhere he landed shocked Greece,<sup>2</sup> but if we reflect for one moment on fifth-century Athens, where Athena herself could be represented on the stage, where Pericles could be mocked as *ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς*, or where Dionysus could be figured in his own theatre as a cowardly fool,<sup>3</sup> we shall see there was no soil in which blasphemy could flourish. The occasional trials for impiety or atheism of which we hear — usually from late authors or without sufficient detail — tend to occur, as Derenne has pointed out,<sup>4</sup> in times of panic or popular excitement, and are political rather than religious; such, for example, were the prosecutions of Alcibiades and Aristotle. Not till the middle of the fourth century do we find Plato laying down penalties for offences against State-cult which include imprisonment and even death as a punishment for obstinate and continued atheism.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, XVIII, 37, 10.

<sup>3</sup> It is exactly this mockery of Heracles or Dionysus which so revolted the earnest Julian: see e.g. Julian, p. 204 AB, 366 C.

<sup>4</sup> E. Derenne, *Les Procès d'Impiété intentés aux Philosophes à Athènes au Vme et au IVme Siècles av. J. C.*, 1930.

<sup>5</sup> Plato, *Laws*, X, esp. 907 to 910.



For ancient ideas about gods (save among a few lofty thinkers) were so different from ours, so much more flexible. The gods were beings or powers who if properly treated brought you blessings and gave you benefits. And this feeling persisted throughout centuries. Epictetus remarks that we love wealth and honors, and therefore fear those who control them: *‘διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὡς θεοὺς αὐτοὺς προσκυνούμεν. ἐννοοῦμεν γὰρ, ὅτι τὸ ἔχον ἐξουσίαν τῆς μεγίστης ὠφελείας θεῶν ἐστίν’* (IV, i, 60–61). One of the objections felt to Epicurus’ poor thin gods was exactly their lack of beneficence: how could they be worshipped by men? “*Quae porro pietas ei debetur a quo nihil acceperis? aut quid omnino, cuius nullum meritum sit, ei deberi potest?*” (Cicero, *de natura deorum*, I, xli, 116) — the words are Latin, but the average Greek would not have disagreed. And you could never tell how or in what form a god, hitherto unknown, might manifest his power, or a known one appear disguised. The inhabitants of Lystra and Melita were not alone in imagining that those who worked wonders might be gods in mortal form. All this presents a difficulty to us, and yet another one is that which A. D. Nock has stressed,<sup>6</sup> the imperfect distinction between worship on the one hand and homage and respect on the other. If we find difficulty here let us take some reverse instances: how would an educated Pagan regard the state ceremony that is celebrated yearly in November round the Cenotaph in London? Would it not be hard to convince him that this is not worship of the dead? And how would we explain to such a Pagan the behavior of (say) an avowed atheist, at an University, who must attend a religious service in a college chapel if he wishes to pay a tribute publicly to a departed friend? Or how the puzzling habit men have of removing their hats in consecrated buildings and in the presence of women? The Pagan could question us, but we have no living witness to interrogate. Instead we have to form conclusions from the statements sometimes of contemporaries (among whom may be poets, employing metaphorical or adulatory language, not to be taken literally), but more often of late authors, who are writing of events hundreds of years before

<sup>6</sup> As e.g. in *Mélanges Bidez*, 1934, 627.

them and may be unconsciously influenced by the tendencies of their own times. Further, as in any developed society, there will be various strata, from high sophistication down to superstitious belief.

The following pages, then, contain some notes on selected topics only: there is nothing here about the Hellenistic Kings, about *agathos-daimon*, about the genius of Augustus or the *numen Augusti*. But I have not seen the evidence for Greek 'Benefactor-Cult' set out fully, and there seemed to be something to say about *proskynesis* in Rome and about the innovations for which (as I believe) Domitian was responsible. If my suggestions on these topics are endorsed, well and good; if not, may further discussion lead to a truer view.

## I

## GRATITUDE TO BENEFACTORS

At the beginning I would place three texts. The first is as early as Homer, the second comes from Aristotle, the third is from the Elder Pliny; but widely though they are separated in time they possess, I believe, certain common fundamental elements which are constant throughout ancient civilization. If, starting from these, we set out the evidence for Greece with some fullness, we shall find that the phrase Benefactor-Cult would be a better title for this manifestation of feeling than Ruler-Cult, for ruler-cult is but a part of that larger whole. Here they are, then:

1. *Ναυσικάα, Θύγατερ μεγάλητορος Ἀλκινόοιο,  
οὔτω νῦν Ζεὺς θεΐη, ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης,  
οἴκαδε τ' ἐλθέμεναι καὶ νόστιμον ἡμαρ ἰδέσθαι·  
τῷ κέν τοι καὶ κεῖθι θεῶ ὥς εὐχετοῶμην  
αἰεὶ ἡματα πάντα· σὺ γὰρ μ' ἐβίωσας, κόυρη*  
Odyssey, VIII, 464 ff.
2. *τιμὴ δ' ἐστὶ μὲν σημεῖον εὐεργετικῆς δόξης, τιμῶνται δὲ δικαίως μὲν καὶ  
μάλιστα οἱ εὐεργετηκότες . . . . μέρη δὲ τιμῆς θυσαίαι, μνήμαι ἐν μέτροις  
καὶ ἄνευ μέτρων, γέρα, τεμένη, προεδρίαί, τάφοι, εἰκόνες, τροφαὶ δημόσιαι,  
τὰ βαρβαρικά, οἷον προσκυνήσεις καὶ ἐκστάσεις, δῶρα τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις  
τίμια.*  
Aristotle, Rhetoric, I, 5, 9.



3. Deus est mortali iuvare mortalem, et haec ad aeternam gloriam via. hac proceres iere Romani, hac nunc caelesti passu cum liberis suis vadit maxumus omnis aevi rector Vespasianus Augustus fessis rebus subveniens. hic est vetustissimus referendi bene merentibus gratiam mos, ut talis numinibus adscribant.

Pliny, Hist. Nat. II, 18-19.

The first point that should be made clear is this, that from the earliest times in Greece there was a feeling that to a person who had saved you or helped you in distress you ought in gratitude to pay the highest honors you could, such honors as you would offer to a god. Let us start with the father of all, Homer; looking at the first passage we see that Odysseus promises, if he comes safe home, to offer prayers to Nausicaa as a god, and why? *σὺ γὰρ μ' ἐβίωσας, κόυρη*. To put it in bald prose, he would honor her as a god because she had saved his life, made living possible for him, been his benefactress. No one reproves Odysseus for saying this, there is nothing shocking or unusual about it; it is simply natural.

The second is that to a Greek sacrifices, altars, precincts, etc., are a perfectly normal way of expressing gratitude for benefits and of showing honor to a benefactor.<sup>7</sup> For this we have the unimpeachable testimony of Aristotle; in the passage quoted above the only signs of honor that he marks as un-Greek are two, — falling on the knees to and making way for a mortal, — the rest are all orthodox and Greek. Naturally enough, then, a colony honored the dead founder to whom it owed so much by burying him in the *agora* and worshipping him as a hero, with sacrifices and altar. (There is no need, for

<sup>7</sup> I do not cite here the Greek proverb — “*οὐδεὶς εὐεργέτην βοῦν ἔθυσεν ἄλλ' ἢ Πυρρίας*” — which is explained by Plutarch in *Quaest. Graec.* 34 (see Halliday's edition, pp. 148/9). There we are told that Pyrrhias, in a kindly fit, ransomed an old man from some pirates. When the pirates had departed the old man revealed that some jars apparently holding pitch were really full of gold; so Pyrrhias became rich, and among other honors sacrificed an ox to the old man. Remarkable though the alleged action of Pyrrhias is, the remarkability, I would suggest, lies more in the costliness and extravagance of the offering than in the performance of a cult-act to a living benefactor. Where a simple libation or something inexpensive would have sufficed, Pyrrhias actually spent an ox on it. Greece could not afford costly offerings: compare Plutarch's touching account of the commemoration by the Plataeans of those who had died for the liberty of Greece at Plataea (Plutarch, *Arist.* 21). The cost would not be large, — a black bull, oil, wine, incense, and milk, and garlands, — but the honor would be great and public.

the purposes of this paper, to bother about the difference between *heros* and *theos*; both received cult.) That is why Pindar says of Battus —

ἐνθα πρυμνοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἐπὶ δίχα κεῖται θανών.  
μάκαρ μὲν ἀνδρῶν μέτα  
ἐναιεν, ἥρως δ' ἐπειτα λαοσεβής.

Pindar, Pyth. V, 93 ff.

Similarly Herodotus when he records the heroic honors paid to the Elder Miltiades by Chersonese (VI, 38) simply adds 'ὡς νόμος οἰκιστῆ.'

This being so it was an easy and reasonable step for a town to grant such honors to a man who, though not its founder, had yet benefited it by deliverance from danger or restoration to freedom. The famous example is Amphipolis: Brasidas had liberated it from Athens, and so the citizens buried him publicly 'in what is now the *agora*' and fenced the memorial round, and . . . 'ὡς ἡρώϊ τε ἐντέμνουσι καὶ τιμὰς δεδῶκασιν ἀγῶνας καὶ ἐτησίους θυσίας, καὶ τὴν ἀποικίαν ὡς οἰκιστῇ προσέθεσαν . . . . . νομίσαντες τὸν μὲν Βρασίδαν σωτήρᾳ τε σφῶν γεγενῆσθαι κτλ' (Thucydides, V, 11). The action is normal and Greek, and so is the reason; they looked upon Brasidas as their saviour.<sup>8</sup>

Less than fifty years later a city rewarded one of its own citizens with much the same honors. Euphron of Sicyon had been murdered while in Thebes by political opponents: his fellow-citizens — 'ὡς ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν κομισάμεναι ἔθαψάν τε ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ὡς ἀρχηγέτην τῆς πόλεως σέβονται' (Xenophon, Hell. VII, 3, 12). It was a perfectly right and normal way of showing gratitude, for, as Xenophon placidly remarks, 'οὕτως, ὡς ἔοικεν, οἱ πλείστοι ὀρίζονται τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἐαυτῶν ἀνδράς ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι.' This explains too the action of the Achaeans in the third century, when they passed a decree giving to their champion Philopoemen a grave in the *agora* and τιμαὶ ἰσόθεοι (Dittenberger, Sylloge<sup>3</sup>, 624; cf. Diodorus, XXIX, 18 and Livy, XXXIX, 50). Throughout we have to deal with a perfectly correct method of displaying extreme thankfulness and sense of obligation, especially after moments of high tension.

<sup>8</sup> For much the same reasons the Syracusans buried their deliverer, Timoleon, in the *agora*; Plutarch, Timol. 39.



Before leaving this topic we may remark how in later times the honor slowly got cheapened so that any considerable benefactor might receive, after death, the flattery of a shrine and sacrifices. Thus about the year 176/5 we find the members of an association decreeing for a benefactor, Dionysius, who had been very liberal, . . .

ὅπως ἀφηρωισθεῖ Διονύσιος καὶ ἀνατεθεῖ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ  
παρὰ τὸν θεόν, . . . . . ἵνα ὑπάρχει κάλλιστον ὑπόμνημα  
αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον

Dittenberger, ib. 1101.

Theophanes of Mytilene, the chronicler of Pompey's deeds, did such service to his native city that he was deified and even equated with Zeus Eleutherios because he had been, as an inscription tells us,<sup>9</sup> 'the saviour and benefactor and second founder of his country.' Tacitus, who happens to mention this (Ann. VI, 18), merely says . . . 'quodque defuncto Theophani caelestis honores Graeca adulatio tribuerat'; it is an example of *Graeca adulatio*, excessive flattery, not more. Finally Dio of Prusa, addressing his own townsmen, can declare he has already received plenty of honors from them; among them he enumerates — a cult-image and shrine set up to his mother (XLIV, 3).<sup>10</sup>

This being the normal Greek feeling towards dead benefactors, we can understand how cities and peoples who had passed through great and agonizing crises might well render to a benefactor and deliverer, even in his lifetime, the honors they would have certainly decreed him had he died in the moment of achievement. This consideration may incline us to accept in general outline what Plutarch says about Lysander,<sup>11</sup> that he was the first man to whom Greek cities set up altars as to a god and made sacrifices, and the first to whom paeans were sung: after all what Brasidas had done for one city, he had done for a hundred, he had freed them from Athenian

<sup>9</sup> I.G.R.R. IV, 55 b: cf. a Mytilenean coin, with legend ΘΕΟΦΑΝΗΣ ΘΕΟΣ, in Head, *Historia Numorum*<sup>2</sup>, p. 563.

<sup>10</sup> We know that at Athens, by 100/99 B.C., there was a general sacrifice to all benefactors: see Nock, *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.* XLI, 1930, 53.

<sup>11</sup> Plutarch, *Lys.* 18, 4.

tyranny, and had held power such as no man before.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, only a few years later, the citizens of Thasos did much the same for Agesilaus. 'Because they thought they had been greatly benefited by him,' says Plutarch,<sup>13</sup> 'they honored him with temples and deifications [*ἀποθεώσεσι*], and sent him an embassy about it' . . . and there then follows Agesilaus' famous retort, "Make yourselves gods first, and then I'll believe you can make me one." And these two cases are supported by a third one, in the middle of the fourth century, though it must be admitted we have only a much later authority, Diodorus, for it. Dion had delivered the oppressed people of Syracuse from tyranny: in an outbreak of gratitude the people . . . *στρατηγὸν ἐχειροτόνησεν αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Δίωνα καὶ τιμὰς ἀπένειμεν ἡρωικάς* [an instructive mixture of honors] . . . . . *οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι πανδήμοις ἐπαίνοις καὶ ἀποδοχαῖς μεγάλας ἐτίμων τὸν εὐεργέτην ὡς μόνον σωτῆρα γεγονότα τῆς πατρίδος* (Diodorus, XVI, 20, 6). The reason given is exactly what we might expect.

To digress for a moment. If the gratitude of cities and peoples can take this form, so naturally might that of individuals, first in verbal expressions then in actions. So there arises a metaphorical form wherein you can speak of someone who has greatly helped you or on whom you pin your hopes as 'a god to me,' a sort of private deification, as Nock has shown.<sup>14</sup> To quote Latin examples only: 'O mi Juppiter terrestris' cries Saturio to the man from whom he hopes for a feed; Cicero records his gratitude to P. Lentulus by calling him 'parens ac deus nostrae vitae fortunae memoriae nominis,' while of Octavian, who has restored him to his farm Virgil can declare . . .

deus nobis haec otia fecit.  
namque erit ille mihi semper deus, illius aram  
saepe tener nostris ab ovilibus imbuet agnus.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> On the meaning of the phrase 'the Samians voted that they should call their Heraia Lysandreia,' see Nock, in *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.* XLI, 1930, 60.

<sup>13</sup> Plutarch, *Apophth. Lacon. Agesilai Magni*, 25.

<sup>14</sup> See Nock in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* XLVII, 1928, 31, from which the first three examples are cited.

<sup>15</sup> Plautus, *Persa*, 99: Cicero, *cum Senat. grat. eg.*, 8: Virgil, *Eclogues*, I, 7-9.



Under the Empire such phrases and feelings might be transmuted into acts, private acts of veneration towards an admired person. Such was the admiration that Silius Italicus displayed for Virgil, . . . 'cuius natalem religiosius quam suum celebrabat, Neapoli maxime, ubi monumentum eius adire ut templum solebat.'<sup>15a</sup> Another way of paying homage to your 'deus' would be to include his image among the family Lares. On a low level we have the astute L. Vitellius, who owed so much to the powerful freedmen of Claudius, and had to flatter them in return, so — 'Narcissi quoque et Pallantis imagines aureas inter Lares coluit' (Suet. Vitellius, 2, 5); on a higher Marcus Aurelius, who 'tantum honoris magistris suis detulit ut imagines eorum aureas in larario haberet' (SHA. M. Ant. Phil. 3, 5); most remarkable of all Alexander Severus, who is alleged to have placed in his lararium, *inter alios*, Apollonius of Tyana, Christ, Abraham, and Orpheus (SHA. Alex. Sev. 29, 2). With such usages, in the normal course of the development of language, it is not surprising that *θεός* or *deus* should be used quite loosely by Pagan writers: so Cicero can pen a phrase like 'equidem te cum in dicendo semper putavi deum, tum vero . . . ' or 'audiamus Platonem loquentem quasi deum quendam philosophorum'; what is a little startling is to find the Jewish philosopher Philo claiming that Moses was 'ὅλον τοῦ ἔθνους θεός καὶ βασιλεὺς.'<sup>16</sup> If a Jew could use *theos* thus metaphorically, how much more a Pagan.

But to return to Greece and its treatment of benefactors: with the examples quoted above in mind we can now understand how, when Alexander made his demand to the Greek cities that they should regard him as a god, the average Greek mind was ready enough, by instinct and tradition and by the experience of a hundred years, to feel that the demand had reason in it. Alexander had done things such as no mortal had achieved so far; he had delivered Greece from her age-long

<sup>15a</sup> Pliny, Epist. III, 7, 8. An interesting modern parallel in expression is the utterance of Charles Lamb over Coleridge dead: 'He was my fifty years old friend without a dissension. Never saw I his likeness, nor probably the world can see again. What was his mansion is consecrated to me a chapel.'

<sup>16</sup> Cicero, de oratore, I, 106, and cf. II, 179; de natura deorum, II, 32; Philo, de vita Moysis, I, 158.

enemy Persia, he had overrun the world. Less than twenty years before Isocrates had written to his father Philip to say that he would have touched the peak of glory 'when you have forced the barbarians (save those who are fighting for you) to be serfs to the Greeks, and have made the King, who is now addressed as Great, do whatever you bid him. For there will be nothing further left save to become a god.' 'οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔσται λοιπὸν ἔτι πλὴν θεὸν γενέσθαι' — Isocrates is here playing on an old Greek theme, a theme that we find in Pindar when he prays that Psaumis of Camarina may have all the happiness that can befall a mortal, but — 'μὴ ματεύσῃ θεὸς γενέσθαι.'<sup>17</sup> Yet how strangely prophetic his remark was: Alexander had done more than Philip and now he was indeed to be *theos*.

Into the deification of Alexander and of his successors and into its meaning there is no need to enter, for the reader can find the matter established in the writings of Ferguson and Tarn and Wilcken. It was a political measure: all I would stress here is that the ground was well prepared by traditional Greek sentiment and its expression. A few might protest; to most it came easily enough. In this region too we must make distinctions between the worship that Alexander claimed in order to give him a legal position, the worship that he received from Alexandria as its founder, and the worship which he received from the official cult in the cities.<sup>18</sup> Very different from this is the spontaneous outburst of enthusiasm with which the Athenians greeted their deliverer, Demetrius Poliorcetes, and Scott has done rightly in emphasizing the great significance of it.<sup>19</sup> There seems a perceptible lowering of tone here, and the religious Plutarch can assure us that there were not lacking clear signs of divine displeasure (Plutarch, Dem. 12).

As for the feeling with which such deification was regarded by the third century Edson has cited an instructive passage in Livy, XXXII, 25.<sup>20</sup> Philocles, the envoy of Philip V, came to

<sup>17</sup> Isocrates, Epist. ad Philippum, 5: Pindar, Olymp. V, 24.

<sup>18</sup> Tarn, Hellenistic Civilization, Ed. 2, 46-47.

<sup>19</sup> K. Scott, in Am. Journ. Phil. XLIX, 1928, 137-166 and 217-239.

<sup>20</sup> C. F. Edson, in Harv. Theol. Rev. XXVI, 1933, 324-325.



Argos (where Philip had received by law of the city divine honors), hoping to win the city over to his master, and the feeling of the populace was demonstrated by a curious incident. Let Livy speak: 'cuius nomen [Philip's] post pactam cum Romanis societatem quia praeco non adiecit, fremitus primo multitudinis ortus, deinde clamor subicientium Philippi nomen iubentiumque legitimum honorem usurpare, donec cum ingenti adsensu nomen recitatum est.' There is nothing here 'religious' in our sense of the word: it is political feeling, the divine honors of Philip are a *legitimus honor*, a mark of gratitude conferred by decree of the city for service rendered.

But now let us note that while by the end of the fourth century only a very few would have felt there was anything impious in granting a man divine honors, it was a very different matter if a man identified himself with a particular god. That way indeed madness lay. A full and brilliant study of that form of insanity has recently come from Weinreich, Menekrates Zeus und Salmoneus, but I would venture to suggest that what really proved the impiety and madness of the Syracusan physician, Menekrates, was not that he called himself *theos*, but that he identified himself with a particular god, Zeus, and his followers with Apollo and Heracles, and that was so obviously 'false pretences.' That too was the sin of the legendary Salmoneus; punishment came upon him not for calling himself *theos*, but for copying (or possibly identifying himself with) Zeus.<sup>21</sup> That too was the impiety of the emperor Gaius: he identified himself, first with the deified heroes like Hercules, and later actually with Mercury and Apollo.<sup>22</sup> Yet even Gaius' madness had its limits; in spite of the flattery of his courtiers who were ready to greet him as Jupiter Latiaris,<sup>23</sup> he never definitely identified himself with the supreme god of Rome,

<sup>21</sup> In Homer Salmoneus is blameless. The earliest reference I can find to his impiety is in the Aeolus of Euripides (Nauck, Fragmenta, 14). Other accounts are much later, and I wonder whether the legendary king has not had added to him much derived from historical rulers. Possibly a passage in Rhianus, ap. Stob. III 4, 33 p. 227 Hense (cited by Nock in Sallustius, p. lxxxix, n. 210) may refer to something of the kind: cf. O. Weinreich in Hermes, LXVII, 1932, 359-363.

<sup>22</sup> Philo, Legatio, 78 ff. and 93 ff.

<sup>23</sup> Suet. Calig. 22, 2.

Jupiter on the Capitol, but was content to treat him as an equal and call him 'brother.'<sup>24</sup> (It is only fair to warn the reader that Suetonius and Dio Cassius both say he did equate himself with Jupiter,<sup>25</sup> and that I am here preferring the version of Josephus, which seems to me nearer to the truth and less distorted than later accounts.)<sup>26</sup> To sum up, I suggest that *identification* with a god, not mere calling oneself *theos* or *deus*, was the real impiety. It might be pious and right to regard oneself as the instrument or willing co-operator of a god; Python's modesty wins approval from Plutarch, — 'ταῦτα θεός τις ἔπραξεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς χεῖρας ἐχρήσαμεν,'<sup>27</sup> which reveals much the same frame of mind as Oliver Cromwell's, when he claims to be 'but a pipe for God to play on.' How different had Python identified himself with Ares or Cromwell with God!

## II

### *PROSKYNESIS*

So much for benefactor-cult: let us digress to the topic of *proskynesis*. Here the situation has been notably cleared by the work of Bolkestein, Gow, and Horst.<sup>28</sup> We have Herodotus' express statement that in Persia *proskynesis* was the mark of greeting from a social inferior to one higher in rank (Herod. I, 134); it was not in essence from a worshipper to his god. In Greek lands in the fifth and fourth centuries *proskynesis* to a man was an acknowledgment of inferiority, of utter dependence, such as might be made by a slave to his master, or by a serf to his lord (e.g. to Hybrias), and in moments of panic by people to their gods; but it was not for a Greek *per se* an act

<sup>24</sup> Josephus, Ant. Jud. XIX, 4 'ἀδελφὸν ἐτόλμησε προσαγορεύειν τὸν Δία,' and cf. ib. 11.

<sup>25</sup> E.g. Suet. Calig. 22, and Dio, LIX, 28, 8.

<sup>26</sup> My reasons for regarding Josephus as retaining a more trustworthy tradition are set out in Camb. Hist. Journ. IV, 1933, 105.

<sup>27</sup> Plutarch, de laude ipsius, 11 (p. 542 E).

<sup>28</sup> See the works cited in the Bibliography under their names. Since this article was written there has appeared a brilliant monograph by A. Alföldi, which deals fully with *proskynesis* as a part of court-ceremonial in Rome of the Empire; for further particulars see the Bibliography.

of worship but of supplication, and for one free Greek to fall before another would have seemed not *ἀσεβής* but *αἰσχρόν*.<sup>29</sup>

As the centuries pass and as different customs intermingle any word is bound to enlarge its associations, but much of the original meaning still clings to *proskynesis*. Let us look at some examples from Roman times. It is still a sign of utter abasement before a master: thus we have the touching letter from a slave in Hadrianic times, 'ὥφελον εἰ ἐδυνάμεθα καὶ ἐλθεῖν καὶ προσκυνῆσαι σε,' and the slave debtor in the parable 'πεσὼν . . . . . προσεκύνη αὐτῷ λέγων 'Κύριε' . . . . .'<sup>30</sup> Naturally, therefore, princes from the East would abase themselves as a sign of submission to the Emperor as their superior: that is why in 49 Zorsines 'datis obsidibus apud effigiem Caesaris procubuit,' or why Tiberius Plautius Silvanus Aelianus can boast 'ignotos ante aut infensos p. R. reges signa Romana adoraturus in ripam quam tuebatur perduxit,' and why Dio tells us that Tiridates made *proskynesis* to Nero and Decebalus to Trajan.<sup>31</sup> What the action was like we can gather from an amusing passage in Dio which tells how Trajan was presented with a horse trained to make obeisance: 'τοῖς τε γὰρ ποσὶ τοῖς προσθίοις ὠκλαζε, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑπὸ τοὺς τοῦ πέλας πόδας ὑπετίθει' (LXVIII, 18, 2).<sup>32</sup>

But whatever custom in the East might be, in Rome of the early Principate the orthodox view was that for a Roman to abase himself before a mortal would be not an act of worship but a piece of servile flattery, not impious but dishonorable and undignified. The king of Bithynia might demean himself

<sup>29</sup> The classic instance is the reluctance of Sperchias and Bulis before the Great King (Herod. VII, 136); compare the conduct of Themistocles, who does not scruple to abase himself to the King of Persia, with that of the honest Ismenias, who, faced with the duty of *proskynesis*, pretends to drop his ring and bend down in search of it (Plutarch, Them. 27, 29 and Artax. 22). And this tradition lasts long in Greek literature; Heliodorus pictures Theagenes refusing to abase himself before Arsace, Aethiopia (ed. Bekker), VII, 19.

<sup>30</sup> Wilcken, Chrestomathie, no. 481 (p. 566): St. Matt. 18, 26.

<sup>31</sup> Tacitus, Ann. XII, 17; Dessau, ILS, 986; Dio, LXIII, 2, 4; 4, 3; 5, 2; LXVIII, 9, 6.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Pliny, Hist. Nat. VIII, 3, on the docility of elephants: 'regem adorant, genua submittunt, coronas porrigunt.' This is no place to go into the meanings of *adoro*: the materials will be found in the Thesaurus.



by *proskynesis* to the Senators of Rome, Gallic chiefs might prostrate themselves before Julius Caesar in entreaty and panic,<sup>32a</sup> but no Roman aristocrat would fall before his equal save in a moment of sheer terror, such as once drove Lucullus to supplicate Julius Caesar, or Q. Haterius to kneel to Tiberius.<sup>33</sup> Seneca records with disgust how Gaius once offered to a suppliant Senator his left foot to kiss, and then inveighs against the tyrant — ‘homo natus in hoc, ut mores liberae civitatis Persica servitute mutaret.’<sup>34</sup> Philo, another contemporary, tells how some flatterers were ready to introduce *proskynesis* to Gaius, ‘τὸ βαρβαρικὸν ἔθος,’ — and reproves them as ‘τὸ εὐγενὲς τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐλευθερίας παραχαράττοντες.’<sup>35</sup> Both these statements show clearly in their wording what is meant, that kneeling to a mortal is not an act worthy of a free man, though it is characteristic of Persia where men are as slaves to their ruler.

But, obviously, where an emperor, Gaius or Domitian, arrogated to himself the title not only of *dominus* but also of *deus*, abasement and worship tend to be mingled. The able governor of Syria, L. Vitellius, incurred the suspicion of Gaius and was recalled; in fear for his life he must do something to placate the emperor. Suetonius tells us what he did (Vitell. 2, 5), — ‘miri in adulando ingenii primus C. Caesarem adorare ut deum instituit, cum reversus ex Syria non aliter adire ausus esset quam capite velato circumvertensque se, deinde procumbens.’<sup>36</sup> The wording is interesting: Vitellius’ appearance with veiled head and his turning are the normal Roman mode of praying to a god, the prostration seems borrowed from the East; here we have two modes of flattery tending to mingle and combine, and indeed in the later Dio the business has become practically one — ‘καὶ πρὸς τε τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ προσπεσὼν καὶ δάκρυσι κλαύσας, κἀν τούτῳ καὶ θειάσας αὐτὸν πόλλα καὶ προ-

<sup>32a</sup> Polybius, XXX, 18, 5 ff.; Caesar, de bell. Gall. I, 31, 2; VII, 15, 4.

<sup>33</sup> Suet. Div. Jul. 20, 4; Tacitus, Ann. I, 13, 7.

<sup>34</sup> Seneca, de beneficiis, II, xii, 1 and 2.

<sup>35</sup> Philo, Legatio ad Gaium, 116. For the ‘barbaric practice’ cf. the *proskynesis* of the Carthaginian ambassadors, Livy, XXX, 16, 4 f.

<sup>36</sup> ‘Procumbere’ describes, as often, the act of prostration: cf. Tacitus, Ann. XII, 17 and Livy, XXX, 16, 4. For a judicious review of the evidence about the claims of Gaius to divinity see now J. P. V. D. Balsdon, The Emperor Gaius (Caligula), pp. 157–173.

σκυνήσας, καὶ τέλος εὐξάμενος, ἂν περισωθῇ, θύσειν αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ' (LIX, 27, 5).

Vitellius' action saved his life. It also made a great innovation, for from that day Persian *proskynesis* with Roman additions could be offered by anyone in desperate flattery to any emperor who cared to accept it, and in this way a suspected conspirator saved his life under Domitian (p. 33). But only a tyrant could demand such obeisance as a right, or offer a hand or foot to kiss as Gaius had done. In a famous passage Epictetus dwells on the lengths men will go for one they love, perhaps even kissing the adored one's feet: 'καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος ἂν σέ τις ἀναγκάσῃ, ὕβριν αὐτὸ ἡγή καὶ ὑπερβολὴν τυραννίδος,' — it would be flat tyranny (IV, i, 17).

It is interesting to observe how the course of time and actual practice tend to alter or develop the *nuances* of a word. Uses of *proskynein* by early Greek writers can easily be found;<sup>37</sup> I propose to take some examples from later authors. Let us take Plutarch, writing c. A.D. 90–120: in him we can discover various shades of meaning attached to the word. One is naturally that of abasement before one whom you feel to be your master or a superior being, and it occurs often with slaves or Easterners.<sup>38</sup> Another is that of an action due to superstitious fear (*δεισιδαιμονία*), such as Theophrastus had noted.<sup>39</sup> Yet another use is to describe the Eastern custom of saluting the Sun,<sup>40</sup> while another helps to describe the Roman act of prayer (usually in combination with a verb like *περιστρέφομαι*).<sup>41</sup> Occasionally it is used of acts of reverence like (say) kneeling to or bowing before a god or a temple: 'τὸν θεὸν προσκυνῶμεν,' and 'προσκυνοῦσι δὲ τὰ ἔδη καὶ στεφανοῦσι τοὺς ναοὺς';<sup>42</sup> some of these uses could be translated by the word 'worship,' but need not be.

<sup>37</sup> As e.g. in Bolkestein, op. cit., or in D. J. Horst, *Proskynein*.

<sup>38</sup> Such are *Moralia* 173 C, 1064 C, and 1100 A: *Vitae* 321 D (Arist. 5), 563 C (Crassus, 30), 1016 C, 1017 D, 1019 A, and 1022 D (Artax. 11, 13, 15, and 22).

<sup>39</sup> E.g. *Moralia* 26 B (Quomodo adulescens . . . 8), and 170 E (de superstit. 11). Cf. Theophrastus, *Charact.* 6.

<sup>40</sup> Plutarch (Artax. 29; Pomp. 14. For this practice cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* III, 24, 'orientem solem (ita in Suria mos est) tertiani salutavere; Herodian, IV, 15 'ἄσπασάμενοι δὲ τὸν ἥλιον, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, οἱ βάρβαροι.'

<sup>41</sup> Plutarch, *Aetia Rom.* 10 and 25; Numa, 14 (bis); Camill. 5; Marcell. 6.

<sup>42</sup> Plutarch, *Amat.* 26 (771 E), de Stoic. repugn. 6 (1034 C).

Generally as time goes on the meanings appear to be two: either prostration before a king as a piece of court-ceremonial, or prostration before something regarded as holy.

It is perfectly possible to translate the word as 'worship,' but equally permissible to translate as 'kneel to.' Thus Fronto can write to Appianus — 'οὐδὲ γὰρ προσκυνεῖσθαι μοι προσῆκεν μήτε θεῷ μήτε αὐτῷ βασιλεὶ Περσῶν ὄντι' (Naber, p. 246, 3). Dio Cassius, writing in the first half of the third century, usually employs the word to describe abasement before a ruler or his statue or (once) his chair (LIX, 24, 4):<sup>43</sup> in his slightly later contemporary Herodian we find the word used once of ordinary court-ceremony, — 'προσκυνήσας τε ὡς ἤδη βασιλέα,' — once in the sense of 'bowing to' or 'kneeling to' — 'καὶ τὴν κάλπιν προσεκύνουν,' and once in a sense that gets very near to worship, when he speaks of 'τὸν νεών, ἐνθα τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τοῦ στρατοπέδου προσκυνεῖται.'<sup>44</sup> But there is nothing to show that during the first two centuries of the Principate *proskynesis* was ever regarded, by itself, as a cult-act, though it was certainly looked upon at first as a piece of flattery, degrading to the self-respect of the flatterer, foreign and un-Roman: after the Antonines it apparently became a regular part of court etiquette; to that extent Vitellius' flattery had important consequences.

### III

#### GREEKS AND ROMANS

So far then we have seen that the Greek attitude towards deification was not inconsistent with traditional sentiments, especially in moments of high emotion after great deliverances. In course of time the honor was liable to get cheapened, but in essence it remained thanks for services rendered. It was inevitable therefore that when Rome, a city whose very name meant 'Strength,' appeared, ready to lend help to the Greeks against oppressors, and when she made her famous gift of

<sup>43</sup> So too the Athenians made *proskynesis* to the chair of the dead philosopher Demonax (Lucian, *Demonax*, 67, 1). On reverence to Alexander the Great's throne, see H. Herter, in *Rhein. Mus.* LXXIV, 1925, 164-173.

<sup>44</sup> Herodian, III, 11, 8; IV, 1, 3; IV, 4, 5.



freedom to the Greeks, she should be honored by her beneficiaries in the way that custom demanded. Smyrna boasted that she had dedicated a temple to Rome as early as 195, and Rhodes set a colossal image representing the *Populus Romanus* in the temple of her own Athena Polias.<sup>45</sup> But the next development was to combine with their gratitude to a distant power their gratitude to its present and popular representative, Titus Quinctius Flamininus, and so altars were erected to Rome and Titus and hymns composed to them. Flamininus' gift had been generous in its intention and his honor lasted long; we know now (from the Gytheum inscription published by Kougéas) that he still possessed a priest in the reign of Tiberius, two hundred years later.<sup>46</sup> But as time went on, though many worthy benefactors were honored in this way — e.g. Ephesus had an altar to Rome and Servilius Isauricus, the conqueror of the Isaurian brigands<sup>47</sup> — the honor was offered to less suitable recipients or simply to governors who did not oppress. Cicero's governorship of Cilicia was equitable and kindly enough, he behaved as a decent administrator should, but so astonishing did his conduct appear that the provincials showed the offer of temples and statues upon the pleased but embarrassed pro-consul. Once again it was gratitude for benefits: observe what Cicero says as he preens himself to Atticus — 'ob haec beneficia, quibus illi obstupescunt, nullos honores mihi nisi verborum decerni sino, statuas, fana, *τέθριππα* prohibeo' (Cicero, ad Att. V, 21, 7). Here was a precedent useful indeed for Augustus, when he had to decide what his position was to be in those provinces that were accustomed to 'worshipping' their rulers, the precedent being that worship of the eternal lasting power of Rome<sup>48</sup> could be linked with a human representative.

<sup>45</sup> Tacitus, Ann. IV, 56; Polybius, XXXI, frag. 16, 4.

<sup>46</sup> Plutarch, Titus, 16: a more accessible publication of the text will be found in E. Kornemann, *Neue Dokumente zum lakonischen Kaiserkult*, Breslau, 1929.

<sup>47</sup> See *Jahreshefte*, XVIII, 1915, Beiblatt col. 281 ff., and cf. *Forschungen in Ephesos*, III, 1933, p. 149, no. 66.

<sup>48</sup> For the conception of the eternal lasting power of Rome see Melinno's 'Ode to Rome' as quoted by Stobaeus, Anthol. (Wachsmuth-Hense), III, 7, 12; for its dating to the Republican period see the remarks of Wilamowitz in his edition of *Timotheus Persae*, p. 71 note 1. [Cited by Altheim.]

## IV

## ROME DOWN TO AUGUSTUS

If we turn to Roman history we come in contact with a religious tradition that differs greatly from the Greek. Although the dead, the *Di Manes*, were given veneration as a body, there was nothing in early times like the Greek herocult. Even so the Roman conception of *numen* as a force manifesting itself in a particular way on a particular occasion was capable of interesting developments. If *numen* could manifest itself in a mysterious but providential warning, as that of Aius Locutius who brought news of the approach of the Gauls, might it not manifest itself through a man? Still that would not make a man a god, but simply imply that a mortal was chosen as the intermediary of Heaven's will, and it may be that we have a significant difference here.

On the other hand it looks as though, after 150 B.C., when Rome had for some time undergone foreign influences, there had spread among the Roman populace a feeling that inclined them to offer to deliverers or helpers, in times of enthusiasm or crisis, such grateful honors as they would offer to the gods. The first well-attested instance is that of the Gracchi; the people, says Plutarch, T. et C. Gracchi, 39 (18), showed their longing for them; — 'εἰκόνας τε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀναδείξαντες ἐν φανέρῳ προϋτίθεντο, καὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς ἐφονεύθησαν ἀφιερῶσαντες ἀπήρχοντο μὲν ὧν ὠραι φέρουσι πάντων, ἔθνον δὲ καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν πολλοὶ καὶ προσέπιπτον, ὥσπερ θεῶν ἱεροῖς ἐπιφοιτῶντες.'

A second instance is equally familiar and instructive: when Marius, by his victory over the Teutones and Cimbri, had delivered Rome from extreme danger, the people hailed him as third founder of Rome, . . . 'εὐθυμούμενοί τε μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἕκαστοι κατ' οἶκον ἅμα τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ Μαρίῳ δείπνου καὶ λοιβῆς ἀπήρχοντο' (Plutarch, Marius, 27, 9). But both these examples come from Plutarch, and it might be objected that his account *may* have been influenced by the developments that occurred between 100 B.C. and his own time; that is why a third instance, from Cicero, is far more telling, telling too

from the comparative insignificance of the hero. In the year 86 B.C. a praetor, Marius Gratidianus, issued an edict which was welcomed by the populace. Let us give the result in Cicero's own words: 'et ea res, si quaeris, ei magno honori fuit. omnibus vicis statuæ, ad eas tus, cerei. quid multa? nemo unquam multitudini fuit carior' (Cicero, de officiis, III, xx, 80). These demonstrations, statues with candles burning and incense smoking before them, are a mark of great honor, of people's favor. That is all. Cicero has no word of indignation, no outburst of scorn, no outcry of 'o tempora, o mores'; it is simply an exceptional mark of honor from the *plebs*. In another instance, when Sallust relates how Metellus Pius, for some victory, was greeted with incense (*inter alia*), we can indeed discern some tone of indignation, but it is the indignation of the censorious Sallust against others' extravagance and luxury, not against impiety.<sup>49</sup> These offerings to Marius or Marius Gratidianus are the exact precedent for the grateful libations of the Alexandrian sailors to Augustus in A.D. 14 and for their *eximiae laudes*; 'per illum se vivere, per illum navigare, libertate atque fortunis per illum frui' (Suet. Aug. 98, 2). There is no deification here; Augustus was simply accepting enthusiastic homage.

So much for popular enthusiasm: let us see what happens to a man of high culture, suffering from a deep shock, when his inmost emotions break through. It is well known that Cicero, after the death of his loved daughter Tullia, was for some time obsessed with the idea of raising a shrine to her (Cicero, ad Att. XII, 18, 1; 19, 1; 12, 1; 36, 1, etc.). Whatever the precise feelings and beliefs that aroused this eager desire, two points should be stressed: one, that the shrine is to be a mark of honor to the dead woman, it must be public, prominent, and frequented.<sup>50</sup> The other is that Cicero himself is uneasily aware that his frantic longing for the shrine is a symptom of lack of balance; he feels a little ashamed of it but begs Atticus to bear with him; apparently as his anguish abated the project

<sup>49</sup> Sallust as quoted by Macrobius, Sat. III, 13, 8. Observe that Valerius Maximus, IX, 1, 5 cites this among examples of 'luxuria et libido.'

<sup>50</sup> Cicero, ad Att. XII, 12. The fanum might be at Arpinum, 'sed vereor ne minorem τιμήν habere videatur έκτοπισμός.



of this shrine was forgotten. This mode of honoring a mortal was, in fact, what the eighteenth century would have called 'enthusiasm'; in his controlled moments Cicero would have rejected it for himself, but it was unquestionably accepted by less sophisticated minds.

The Ciceronian Age presents us, then, with a highly sophisticated upper class and a less educated and more 'enthusiastic' populace. But among the upper class, thanks to the influence of Greek thought and of Euhemerism, the idea that a man might be deified because of his surpassing benefits had become a commonplace. Hence Cicero can not only say (*de nat. deor.* II, 61) 'suscepit autem vita hominum consuetudoque communis, ut beneficiis excellentes viros in caelum fama ac voluntate tollerent,' — giving among his instances Hercules, Aesculapius, and Romulus, — but in the laws for his reformed state lay down the following regulation (*de legibus*, II, 19); — 'divos et eos, qui caelestes semper habiti, colunto, et ollos, quos endo caelo merita locaverunt.'<sup>51</sup> Thus there might be the old traditional gods *plus* those whose benefits to mankind had elevated them to godhead, and it is worth remark that Philodemus apparently draws a distinction between them, declaring the older gods to be far more worthy of worship.<sup>52</sup> But though in the ordinary way men might assent to the notion that some mortals had been raised to the gods, the Roman tax-gatherer knew better. Was Amphiaras, was Trophonius really a god? 'nostri quidem publicani, cum essent agri in Boeotia deorum immortalium excepti lege censoria, negabant immortales esse ullos, qui aliquando homines fuissent' (Cicero, *de nat. deor.* III, xix, 49). At first glance this might appear to be merely an illustration of what *Truth* once pointed out, that there is a great difference between gush and cash, but the objection may have been really felt by some Romans. Still it is only fair to record that the publicani lost their case.<sup>53</sup>

By 45 or 44, then, the populace of Rome would clearly have

<sup>51</sup> In *de legibus*, II, 22 the phrase 'bonos leto datos divos habento' is a none too sure emendation of Ulrichs; see Vahlen's note ad loc. in his edition.

<sup>52</sup> See R. Philippson in *Rhein. Mus.* LXXXIII, 1934, 172/3.

<sup>53</sup> See Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>3</sup>, 747, SC de Amphiarai Oropii agris.

been willing enough to greet Julius Caesar, in life or in death, with divine honors and with deification: the nobles were certainly not willing. On the whole topic of the deification of Caesar there is a lively difference of opinion: let the reader refer to chapters 3 and 4 of Miss Taylor's book, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, to the chapters by F. E. Adcock in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume IX, especially 718-735, and to J. Carcopino's *Points de vue sur l'imperialisme romain*, 118-123. There he will find the evidence set out and discussed. The most sensational items are mainly from Dio Cassius, with some backing from Suetonius, and in interpreting the statements of Dio, who was writing two and a half centuries after Caesar's murder, the scepticism of Professor Adcock seems justifiable. If one reads Plutarch, Caesar, 67 in conjunction with Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 88 — and both these are earlier authors than Dio — it is hard to resist the impression that deification was not finally voted to Caesar till *after* his death.<sup>54</sup> I set out the passages here:

Plutarch: ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἀμνηστίας τινὰς καὶ συμβάσεις πράττουσα πᾶσι Καίσαρα, μὲν ὡς θεὸν τιμᾶν ἐψηφίσατο καὶ κινεῖν μηδὲ τὸ μικρότατον ὧν ἐκείνος ἄρχων ἐβούλευσε κτλ.

Suetonius: Perit sexto et quinquagesimo aetatis anno atque in decorum numerum relatus est, non ore decernentium, sed et persuasione volgi. siquidem ludis, quos primos consecratos ei heres Augustus edebat, stella crinita per septem continuos dies fulsit exoriens circa undecimam horam, creditumque est animam esse Caesaris in caelum recepti, etc.

But the whole subject is one of very great difficulties: supposing that Caesar had been deified already in his lifetime, or that the deification took place shortly after his death, why should it be necessary to do this all over again in 42 B.C.? For that is the usual interpretation of Dio, XLVII, 18 and 19, taken in conjunction with Dessau, ILS, 72, 73 and 73a. Granted Cicero's scornful remarks in the Second Philippic, 110, what exactly is the significance of the scruples he expresses in the First Philippic, 13, in relation to the time at which they are

<sup>54</sup> Miss Taylor, *op. cit.* 79, note 1, with her usual honesty notes the passage in Plutarch, but then simply dismisses it.

expressed?<sup>55</sup> But whatever the truth may turn out to be,<sup>56</sup> if indeed it is discoverable, the people were ready enough to believe, when 'the comet of Caesar' appeared, that their dead benefactor had ascended to heaven, and his young heir was shrewd enough to utilize their belief. Some nine years later, when Octavian had freed Rome and Italy from fear of piracy, and had proclaimed that Civil War was at an end, 'αὐτὸν αἱ πόλεις τοῖς σφετέροις θεοῖς συνίδρουν,' says Appian (Bell. Civ. V, 132, 546). This would appear to be some form of *synnaosis* (if I may coin the word), and with the honors voted him after Actium, must have made it imperative for him to consider very carefully what his position would be.

## V

### AUGUSTUS AND HIS SUCCESSORS

To speak adequately about the position of Augustus would demand great space, and short generalizations are notoriously dangerous; yet a few must be attempted for the purpose of this paper. Most important to realize is that Augustus' position was different in different places; in dealing with his vast empire he adopted the sound principle that in any country people should regard him as they had regarded their previous rulers. In Egypt, to the native Egyptian, he was the successor of Pharaohs and Ptolemies, in formula and figure divine. In the Hellenized East, while Roman citizens could worship abroad the god they had grown accustomed to worshipping in Italy, Divus Julius, the provincials were to follow the custom they already had of worshipping Rome in conjunction with Rome's representative. Henceforward Rome and Augustus were to be worshipped together, and Augustus would not permit officially worship of himself, though many worshipped without asking permission. But throughout the motive remained the traditional one, gratitude for overwhelming benefits re-

<sup>55</sup> 'adduci tamen non possem ut quemquam mortuum coniungerem cum deorum immortalium religione; ut, cuius sepulcrum usquam extet ubi parentetur, ei publice supplicetur.'

<sup>56</sup> It should be noted that there is no sign of any arrangements for cultus of Julius in the colonies he founded.



ceived from the man who had been born 'as a common piece of good luck for all mankind,' and who had surpassed all past and future benefactors.<sup>57</sup> That is why Mytilene declares that 'if anything more honorific than all these enactments is discovered in after times, the zeal and piety of our city will not be lacking in anything that can deify him even more.'<sup>58</sup> More than this the Client-Kings followed suit, and so Herod set up at Paneas statues of Rome and of Augustus in a magnificent temple, and Juba at Iol dedicated a grove to his suzerain. Countless too were the dedications in the provinces from bodies of people or from private individuals in their joy for the certainty of peace.

But in Italy the aristocratic tradition was against the actual worship of a living ruler, and here again Augustus respected tradition.<sup>59</sup> Though many might feel like Vitruvius and discern in their ruler 'divina mens et numen,'<sup>60</sup> though many privately set up altars to him as god,

nil oriturum alias nil ortum tale fatentes,

and though poets might exhaust their powers of hyperbole on him, Augustus melted down the silver statues that admirers had set up to his honor and in their stead dedicated golden ones to his protector, Apollo. Innovations there were certainly, subtle nuances, alterations of stress, and for a discussion of these we shall turn to Miss L. R. Taylor's book or to Professor Nock's chapter in Volume X of the Cambridge Ancient History, but it would be generally true to say that in Rome, officially, Augustus — however near to the gods, however under their manifest favor — was never god until he had passed from earth to be canonized officially by the Senate as Divus Augustus. The greatest innovation of Augustus was in the Western provinces, where he slowly initiated a thing unknown before there, the cult of a ruler and Rome; but it was a political not

<sup>57</sup> Dittenberger, OGIS, 458.

<sup>58</sup> Dittenberger, op. cit. 456.

<sup>59</sup> Immisch has well shown, following a suggestion of K. Scott, in *Aus Roms Zeitwende*, 13-36, how much of Augustus' policy is deliberate contrast to Antony's Dionysus-identification.

<sup>60</sup> Vitruvius, I, 1.

a religious creation, an instrument to make firmer the bonds of loyalty.

Thus Augustus set the model and gave the precedent for succeeding rulers. In the provinces the living emperor might be worshipped officially, if Rome was conjoined, though nothing was to be done to check unauthorized private enthusiasms; in Italy he would attain godhead only after death. In the first years of his reign Tiberius had an opportunity of making his standpoint clear, for the town of Gytheum in Laconia proposed to grant him, apparently, divine honors (in what form is unknown), and sent an embassy to ask for his permission. Tiberius, while acknowledging that Divus Augustus, for his benefits to the world, fully deserved such honors, refused them for himself. He has been accused of vagueness, but to a Greek his words must have been quite clear, — he did *not* want *τιμαὶ ἰσόθελαι*. Indeed we may suspect that there was something of an official formula for refusals, for Germanicus deprecates *ισόθελαι ἐκφωνήσεις* in much the same way, and the emperor Claudius, while accepting many honors offered by the Alexandrians, draws the line at temples and a priest, and he gives as reasons, — ‘οὔτε φορτικὸς τοῖς κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν ἀνθρώποις βουλόμενος εἶναι, τὰ ἱερὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μόνοις τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξαίρετα ὑπὸ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἀποδεδοσθαι κρίνων’ (Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, p. 24, lines 48–51). But while Tiberius would not allow worship of himself alone,<sup>61</sup> when in the year 23 the cities of Asia, out of gratitude for the punishment of avaricious officials, decreed a temple to him and to his mother Livia and to the Senate, he granted permission because his own worship was conjoined with that of the Senate.<sup>62</sup>

Gaius’ reign saw a complete reversal of the Augustan policy. The tale is familiar, all we need note here is his exaltation of himself to a god, with temples and sacrifices, his demand that men should swear by his genius, and the introduction of the

<sup>61</sup> Nor of his mother and himself, which is why he refused a petition to this effect from Further Spain: Tacitus, *Ann.* IV, 37, 38.

<sup>62</sup> A bronze coin of Smyrna shows on the obverse busts of Livia and ‘The Senate’ facing each other, and on the reverse Tiberius standing in his new temple; *Brit. Mus. Cat.* IONIA, p. 268, no. 266. The Senate is occasionally given the epithet *theos* on Asian coins.

court-practice of *proskynesis*, for we shall meet these again (p. 32). Claudius wisely proclaimed a return to the Augustan model; he forbade sacrifices to himself or *proskynesis* (Dio, LX, 5, 4). But however sincere his refusal of divine honors, the opposing current was too strong; we have the ludicrous effect of the governor of Egypt terming Claudius a god in the preamble to the very letter in which the emperor disclaims that distinction, while courtiers in Rome had no hesitation in applying, in their writings at any rate, divine epithets to their master.<sup>63</sup> The gross flattery of Lucan and Seneca to Nero, the adulation of the Senate in voting for the placing of Nero's statue in the temple of Mars Ultor, and the plaudits of the Senators who hailed him, on his return from Greece, as 'Nero-Hercules,' 'Nero-Apollo' — to cite only a few instances — brought divinity even nearer.<sup>64</sup> But in spite of his alleged intentions to imitate the deeds of Hercules and Apollo (Suet. Nero, 53), Nero never officially received godhead in Rome, and indeed refused the ominous proposal of a temple to Divus Nero in 67.<sup>65</sup> Vespasian and Titus returned to the normal, and were rewarded by being included among the Divi. Domitian broke away again, and won the hatred and abuse of those who survived him (p. 32). The succeeding 'good' emperors keep to the normal rule. Beyond the Antonines I do not wish to go.

What meaning did this deification possess, especially for Roman citizens? Of one thing we can be certain, of the enormous impression that Augustus had produced: his deification as Divus Augustus corresponded to a widespread feeling that here, in his achievements and benefits, was a being divine. 'Haec [clemency],' says Seneca, 'hodieque praestat illi famam, quae vix vivis principibus servit. deum esse non tamquam iussi credimus.'<sup>66</sup> Both in his lifetime and after his death men were accustomed to swear unofficially by his divinity,<sup>67</sup>

<sup>63</sup> See M. P. Charlesworth in *Class. Rev.* XXXIX, 1925, 113 ff.

<sup>64</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* XIII, 8 (on which see Σύνναος Θεός, p. 31): Dio, LXIII, 20, 5.

<sup>65</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* XV, 74. One is reminded of Caracallus' atrocious jest over his brother's murder — 'sit divus dum non sit vivus.'

<sup>66</sup> Seneca, *de clementia*, I, 10, 2.

<sup>67</sup> Horace, *Epist.* II, i, 16; Tacitus, *Ann.* I, 73.



and for years a solemn oath was taken to preserve his *acta*.<sup>68</sup> Though Tiberius in the year 16 refused to admit as treasonable some words alleged to have been uttered against himself by Appuleia Varilla, he demanded that she should be condemned, 'si qua de Augusto inreligiose dixisset.'<sup>69</sup> Naturally, his statue could afford asylum and protection to those who took refuge at it,<sup>70</sup> and the prestige of descent from Divus Augustus gave members of his family a claim to rule,<sup>71</sup> and enveloped that family with the majesty of belonging to a *domus divina*.<sup>72</sup> Men believed that his rule had been foretold by a whole series of portents and omens; the people of Velitrae showed what they claimed (quite untruthfully) to be his birthplace, and Suetonius declares that if a man entered it without due preparation and respect he would be seized with shuddering and fear (Suet. Aug. 6, and 94, 1). But however dazzling the figure of Divus Augustus, however prominent in men's minds, it did not overthrow the supremacy of Jupiter; rather the two became combined together as the highest and first objects of worship for a loyal citizen. When in 37 the governor of Lusitania administered an oath of loyalty to Gaius to the inhabitants of Aritium, the penalty they invoked upon themselves was, — 'si sciens fallo fefellerove, tum me liberosque meos Juppiter Optimus Maximus ac Divus Augustus ceterique omnes di immortales expertem patria incolumitate fortunisque omnibus faxint' (Dessau, ILS, 190); and similarly when the inhabitants of Assos swore loyalty to Gaius, though they took the oath by Zeus, Augustus, and their own Parthenos, they sacrificed to Jupiter-on-the-Capitol (Ditt. Syll.<sup>3</sup> 797).

<sup>68</sup> Thus, in 42, Claudius took the oath himself and administered it to the Senate, Dio, LX, 10, 4.

<sup>69</sup> Tacitus, Ann. II, 50.

<sup>70</sup> Ib. III, 36; IV, 66, 67.

<sup>71</sup> J. Gagé, Divus Augustus, in Revue Archéologique, XXXIV, 1931, 11 and S. Eitrem in Symbol. Osloenses, XI, 1932, Zur Apotheose, V, Das Herrscherblut und die domus Augusta, 22. Observe, too, how in the Apocolocyntosis (9, 5) the preamble for the burlesque motion for Claudius' deification begins; — 'Cum Divus Claudius et Divum Augustum sanguine contingat, nec minus Divam Augustam, quam ipse deam esse iussit. . . .'

<sup>72</sup> The *domus divina* is mentioned by Phaedrus, V, 7, 38, and in two (possibly three) inscriptions of pre-Flavian date: CIL, XIII, 4645, A. B. West, Corinth, VIII, no. 68, and CIL, VII, 11.

But though nominally the emperor was to be regarded as mortal in his lifetime we can trace a growing exaltation of his position, from various quarters. Let us take one class of men, the army: there can be little doubt that each legion preserved amid its eagle and standards (the 'signa et bellorum deos') an image of its Imperator, and possibly also an image of anyone whom the emperor favored or associated with him.<sup>73</sup> On great parades and military occasions the image of the reigning emperor would be set with those of the gods (and these would include the Divi), and before it foreign princes (as we have seen) were wont to make obeisance in token of surrender.<sup>74</sup> Apart from the army many citizens were accustomed to keep an image of Augustus in their Lararium, where it would receive daily worship. Ovid tells us he possessed, in far away Tomis, silver images of Divus Julius, Augustus, and Livia, sent him by a friend,<sup>75</sup> and because it is Ovid critics cry out that it must be mere flattery. We need not doubt an element of prudence, but far more important is the fact that to a Roman in a distant land these images were the visible symbol of Rome and of his citizenship; they meant Rome to him,

hunc ego cum spectem videor mihi cernere Romam,

and in this way Ovid was preserving his self-respect among Getic hordes. Finally there was a growth, steady and inevitable, in the use of adulatory and semi-divine epithets for the emperor and his circle. Valerius Maximus, dedicating his work to Tiberius praised his *caelestis providentia*, and though that emperor repelled adulation with sardonic irony, in the reigns of Claudius and Nero all the fulsome language of court flattery could be employed. Checked for the time by the moderation of Vespasian, it was in full flood again under Domitian: not only can a court-poet such as Statius refer *ad nauseam* to Domitian's

<sup>73</sup> This seems the most plausible interpretation of Tacitus, Ann. IV, 2, 4 and Suet. Tib. 48, 2.

<sup>74</sup> See p. 17. Though princes might act thus, not the Great King of Parthia: the story that Artabanus prostrated himself before the image of Gaius must, as Täubler has shown (Die Parthernachrichten bei Josephus, 55/6) be an invention of L. Vitellius to flatter the angry Gaius.

<sup>75</sup> Ovid, ex Ponto, II, 8.

sacred frame, hallowed feet, and celestial eyes, but even an upright man like Quintilian has to abase himself.<sup>76</sup>

It is in this reign that we can, I believe, trace the growth of a new practice. About the year 111 some Roman citizens and provincials were brought before Pliny in Bithynia on the charge of being Christians, but they exculpated themselves, 'cum prae-eunte me deos appellarent et *imagini* tuae, *quam propter hoc iusseram cum simulacris* numinum adferri, ture ac vino supplicarent' (Pliny, Epist. ad Traj. 96).<sup>77</sup> In his reply to Pliny Trajan approved of the procedure. These famous letters have naturally been the object of unending research by all interested in Christian origins; what we must ask here is how in the reign of the Optimus Princeps the practice of making offerings before his statue, with that of the gods, could have become a test of religious conformity and loyalty. And the answer seems to be that it was a heritage from Domitian.

## VI

### THE GENIUS OF DOMITIAN AND THE SECOND CENTURY

The point is worth a little more investigation. Although we may have to discount occasionally the bias of our sources against Domitian, some facts stand out clearly. Domitian was a strong upholder of the state religion, especially of the triad on the Capitol: of that his institution of the *Agon Capitolinus*, his veneration for Minerva, and the legends on his coins give proof.<sup>78</sup> But with this there went a determination to exalt his own position, to be recognized as *dominus et deus* (we shall return to this presently), to be absolute master. The first steps

<sup>76</sup> For Statius see K. Scott's paper, Statius' adulation of Domitian, *Am. J. Phil.* LIV, 1933, 247: a full study by F. Sauter, *Der römische Kaiserkult bei Martial und Statius*, has just appeared (July 1934). For Quintilian see *Inst. Orat.* III, 7, 9.

<sup>77</sup> The phrases give a good example of *simulacrum* = ἄγαλμα (cult-image) and *imago* = εἰκών (statue not necessarily for cult).

<sup>78</sup> For the coins see Mattingly-Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, II, 1926, 149-213. For Minerva as his patron goddess see *Suet. Domit.* 15, 3; a curious reminiscence of this occurs in the story of the Tarentine magistrate who was put on trial for not calling the emperor 'son of Minerva' in public vows, *Philostratus, Apoll.* VII, 24.



were taken early in his reign. Whereas previously communities had taken oaths by Jupiter and Divus Augustus and 'the other gods,' in the new municipalities of Salpensa and Malaca magistrates are to swear by Jupiter, Divus Augustus, and the other Divi, but then, before the *dei Penates*, comes the Genius of Domitian (Dessau, ILS, 6088 and 6089). 'Ce qui est nouveau,' wrote the Abbé Beurlier, commenting on this, 'c'est l'invocation du génie dans un serment public, au même titre que Jupiter,' and since those words were written a recent find supplies even more striking evidence. In the year 94 a soldier in Egypt, making a solemn statement, takes an oath simply by Juppiter Optimus Maximus and by the 'Genius sacratissimi imperatoris Domitiani' (ILS, 9059). Furthermore, a passage in Pliny's Panegyricus (52, 6, 7) suggests that those who wished to return thanks to the emperor or to flatter him had voluntarily begun to make sacrifices to his Genius. The heightened position of Domitian was patent; in fact he was moving along the same path as Gaius, only without his exaggerations and with far more determination. His policy certainly met with opposition, but that he crushed pitilessly, and a marked period of persecution seems to begin, after the death of Agricola, in the autumn of 93. It is significant that Dio records precisely in those years the condemnation of several persons on the charge of *atheotes*; significant too that into this period falls the conduct of Juventius Celsus, who, like Vitellius, only escaped punishment by abasement and by addressing Domitian as a god. Moreover a charge of *atheotes* could most easily be brought against Jews or Christians, and both Jewish and Christian sources reveal a tradition of persecution and fear. To take the Jewish first: we have the story that Flavius Clemens and Domitilla had embraced Judaism and were punished for it; another that the Senate had passed a resolution that all Jews were to quit the bounds of the Empire in 36 days; another that the famous Rabbi Gamaliel II (with three helpers) made a hurried winter journey to Rome c. A.D. 95 (presumably to plead the Jewish cause and avert persecution); yet another that an influential Senator and relative of the emperor (? Clemens), who favored the Jews, was put to death, and that his wife

then showed the Rabbis that he had been circumcised.<sup>79</sup> On the Christian side Eusebius quotes an authority for many Christians suffering martyrdom, including Domitilla, in the year 95.<sup>80</sup> All this prompts me to offer as a working hypothesis that in his last years Domitian, not content with voluntary cult from admirers, eager to uphold at once the state-cult and his own divinity, suggested<sup>81</sup> that all those who were charged with disloyalty or neglect of the state religion might easily exculpate themselves by offering libation and incense before his own statue together with that of Jupiter and the other gods. If so it was not only an innovation of importance, a definite test, but one which, though acceptable to a tyrant, was yet continued by his successors. It is worth observing that this hypothesis would explain several things that are otherwise a little puzzling. If Domitian began to demand that men should swear by his Genius as well as by the Divi we can see why in Egypt, under Trajan, in the year 108, an oath was taken by the Divi, the Tyche of Trajan, and then the native gods: such a formula becomes explicable, whereas otherwise it appears to Wilcken 'ein Unikum.'<sup>82</sup> We can see too why in that same reign Epictetus laughs at the citizens of Nicopolis for swearing by Caesar's Tyche (Epictetus, IV, i, 12). And finally if the test of cult-act before the image of the living emperor had been introduced by Domitian we can understand why Pliny, although he had never been present at examinations of Christians, was yet able easily to devise a procedure which would meet the case.

And it would not be the only innovation retained by his successors; there is another equally striking. It is a well-known tradition that Domitian wished to use the formula 'dominus

<sup>79</sup> For these traditions see Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Ed. 2, IV, 1886, 117-122, and note 12, and *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, s.v. Gamaliel II: there are frequent references to this journey to Rome in the Mishnah, see, e.g., Danby's translation, pp. 81, 115, and 126.

<sup>80</sup> Eusebius, *Chron.* Hieron. an Abr. 2114.

<sup>81</sup> I say 'suggested' because an emperor, by an answer to an official enquirer might indicate, without actually ordering, a line of conduct of which he would approve, . . . 'δοκοῦσι μοι καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως ποιήσων,' as Augustus says in the first Cyrene edict.

<sup>82</sup> Oxyrhynchus Pap. III, 483, with Wilcken's comment, *Chrestomathie*, 144. The practice only becomes common after Hadrian.

et deus noster' for himself, and was constantly addressed as such in speech and writing.<sup>83</sup> True, it appears to have left but small trace in inscriptions; that in the Greek East or in out-of-the-way Asiatic villages the emperor should be termed *θεός*, or that a freedman and a slave should call him *dominus*, need occasion no surprise.<sup>84</sup> But as early as 89 Martial refers to an 'edictum domini deque nostri,' and the occurrence of this type of flattery in Quintilian, and the scornful notices of the younger Pliny and Dio Chrysostom later leave no doubt that in the second half of his reign Domitian was given a form of address which implied his divinity and his mastership over citizens.<sup>85</sup> Yet, though after his murder, wisdom counselled dropping the epithet *deus*, that of *dominus* was retained: we feel a certain irony when we see the selfsame Pliny, who has protested so strongly against Domitian's arrogant titles, habitually using *dominus* as a form of address in his letters to Trajan,<sup>86</sup> but the epithet remains, and (as Perret has pointed out) the title *dominus* or *dominus noster* appears to be given officially to Hadrian in several inscriptions.<sup>87</sup>

In these two matters, then, the offering of incense and wine before the image of the living emperor as a test of loyalty, and in the use of *dominus* as an official title Domitian apparently began practices that endured. It remains to enquire briefly what effect this emperor-cult had upon the minds of the inhabitants of the Empire, both ignorant and sophisticated. Only the merest outline of an answer can be given, but certain aspects seem plain.

<sup>83</sup> Suet. Domit. 13, 2; Dio, LXVII, 5. Again Philostratus (Apoll. VIII, 4) reflects the tradition; when Apollonius is on trial his accuser bids him look on 'the god of all mankind.'

<sup>84</sup> IGRR, I, 862; Ditt. Syll.<sup>3</sup> 822; Suppl. Epig. Graec. VI, 46. Dessau, ILS, 3346, 'pro salute optimi principis et domini,' seems to be from a freedman and CIL, VI, 23454 from a slave.

<sup>85</sup> Martial, V, 8, 4; VII, 34, 8; VIII, 2, 6 and X, 72, 3; Quintilian, Inst. Orat. IV, praef. and X, 1, 91; Pliny, Paneg. 2 and 52; Dio Chrys. XLV, 1. Cf. F. Sauter, op. cit. 31-40.

<sup>86</sup> Pliny, Epist. X, passim; cf. Fronto's letters to Marcus Aurelius.

<sup>87</sup> Perret, La titulature impériale d'Hadrien, 76-92. A similar implication of mastership underlies even such a use as 'Hadrianus noster.'



To start with the ordinary people: in their thought, in moments of mass enthusiasm and on great occasions, the Divi would come next to Jupiter himself; even so they would hardly look on them as powers to whom they might pray for blessings, so much as benefactors deserving of honor for past services. (To adopt a modern and slightly misleading analogy they resembled the 'Founders and Benefactors' of an English College, commemorated yearly at a college memorial service). To that extent the Divi, — οἱ ἐν θεοῖς αὐτοκράτορες, as a Greek inscription renders it (IG, XII, 1, 786) — were gods, for their numen still worked on the minds of men.<sup>88</sup> We have seen how strong and lasting the impression made by Divus Augustus was, and even in the fourth century there still were families who had the image of Marcus Aurelius among their *penates* (SHA. M. Ant. Phil. 18, 6). Towards a reigning emperor the attitude is harder to define; it differs so much according to the region. He was something heaven-sent, if good, giver of prosperity and concord, 'circumferens terrarum orbi praesentia sua pacis suae bona,' spreading everywhere 'Caesar's peace.' The miracles worked by Vespasian in Alexandria at the beginning of his reign or by the dying Hadrian mark them out as types of the θεῖος ἀνὴρ, the intermediary between gods and men,<sup>89</sup> and though the advance of divine and quasi-divine epithets and titles went on unchecked we must not lay too much stress on it. One piece of evidence certainly calls for citation. It is from Apuleius *Metamorphoses*, III, 29. The wretched Lucius, in his ass form, is utterly worn out by the weight of his burdens and the steep paths; 'sed mihi sero quidem, serio tamen subvenit ad auxilium civile decurrere et interposito venerabili principis nomine tot aerumnis me liberare.' So on passing through a village, 'inter ipsas turbelas Graecorum genuino sermone nomen augustum Caesaris invocare temptavi; et O quidem tantum disertum ac validum clamitavi, reliquum autem Caesaris nomen enuntiare non potui.' The effort was

<sup>88</sup> 'But his soul is marching on.'

<sup>89</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* IV, 81, 4: and compare Suetonius' list of the omens that foretold his reign, Suetonius, *Vesp.* 5; SHA. Hadrian, 25, 1-4. Cf. O. Weinreich's article, *Antikes Gottmenschentum*, in *Neue Jahrbücher*, II, 1926, 633 ff.

a failure. 'Sed tandem mihi inopinatam salutem Iuppiter ille'<sup>90</sup> tribuit,' and how he sent it, Lucius goes on to explain. The whole passage is extremely interesting, and to me a little puzzling. Is it a religious invocation of a distant deity, 'Iuppiter ille,' who can hear and help? Or is it not an appeal to the earthly power of the emperor, the 'auxilium civile'? Observe that Lucius waits until he reaches a village, where his appeal could be heard: on the other hand his unuttered prayer is answered, for the emperor does send him 'inopinata salus.' I cannot pronounce upon the passage, but feel somehow that in spite of the religious language all that we have here is an invocation of the *auxilium* of the emperor, as an earthly governor.<sup>91</sup> In any case Apuleius is an exceptional person, and for the great generality we must admit that emperor-worship was a thing political, and not spiritual.

But we have to consider as well the reaction of more educated minds to emperor-worship.<sup>92</sup> Take, for example, the Elder Pliny. Sensible and enlightened, he had seen and loathed the excesses of Gaius and Nero, but approved the rule of Claudius. He had lived through the horrors of the Civil War of 69 and welcomed Vespasian, 'fessis rebus subveniens' (p. 9).<sup>93</sup> For to him 'deus est mortali iuvare mortalem' — magnificent phrase — and by propping the tottering structure of Empire, by sheer service to mankind Vespasian and his sons are winning the way to heaven. To enrol benefactors among the gods, he declares, is the oldest mode of returning thanks to them: but at the moment, be it marked, Vespasian and his family are not gods, though they occupy the highest eminence mortals can reach — 'excelsissimum humani generis fastigium.'<sup>94</sup>

<sup>90</sup> That 'Iuppiter ille' here means the emperor has been shown by D. S. Robertson, in *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.* 1926, 22.

<sup>91</sup> So an injured party, according to Epictetus (III, xxiii, 55), will shout 'ὦ Καῖσαρ, ἐν τῇ σῇ εἰρήνῃ οἷα πάσχω' and rush off to the pro-consul. The Lucianic *Lucius* sive *Asinus* gives no help here: Lucius simply tries to cry 'O Caesar,' but can manage only the 'O.'

<sup>92</sup> Much of the evidence has been collected by K. Scott in two articles, Plutarch and the Ruler Cult, *Trans. Am. Phil. Soc.* LX, 1929, 117 ff., and The elder and younger Pliny on Emperor Worship, *ib.* LXIII, 156 ff.

<sup>93</sup> It will be observed that the younger Pliny uses practically the same phrase of Trajan's adoption 'unicum auxilium fessis rebus,' *Paneg.* 8, 3.

<sup>94</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat. Praef.* 11.

To turn to the younger Pliny after this seems hardly fair, for his *Panegyricus* (of which, by the way, a properly commentated edition is badly needed) seems to me overwrought and rhetorical, and in his enthusiasm Pliny can say things about Trajan that would have glugged even the appetite of Domitian for flattery. Even so, if read with sympathy, it reveals how genuine and how overwhelming was the affection and joy that Trajan had aroused; if Pliny, in his relief, can express himself in terms so hyperbolic, how deep must have been the degradation and fear under Domitian. But though his *Panegyric* opens with a contrast between Domitian, tyrant and god, and Trajan, first citizen and man, we soon move away. Throughout, though, Pliny presupposes that deification is a mode of expressing gratitude for benefits; let the reader compare chapters 11, 1, 35, 4, and 52, 1, and he will observe how that idea is dominant. But the enthusiasm finds vent in hyperboles that make us blush for the speaker: let one instance suffice — Trajan's love for his people is so great that we can only hope the gods will love us as he does, 'civitas religionibus dedita . . . nihil felicitati suae putat adstrui posse, nisi ut di Caesarem imitentur.'<sup>95</sup>

Let us leave him and turn to a deeper and more anxious thinker, Plutarch. It is obvious that he is uneasy and that his thought is slowly tending out of the traditional polytheism towards recognizing one supreme god with a host of minor ministers or manifestations. So he can talk, like any pious Jew, of the mad folly of any man claiming to be god or imitating god — 'νεμεσῆ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀπομιμουμένοις βροντὰς καὶ κεραυνοὺς καὶ ἀκτινοβολίας' (ad princ. ineruditum, 3, p. 780 F). To deify a man in his lifetime is not only impious in itself, but it also wrecks and overthrows his character, as it did Demetrius and Antony and Nero.<sup>96</sup> Incidentally, it may be noted that while Plutarch and the Elder Pliny are at first united in their loathing for Nero, in the end Plutarch relents. Thus in the *de sera numinis vindicta*, 32, p. 567 F, we find the soul of Nero undergoing suitable tortures, pierced and pinned by fiery nails, till in the end a Great Voice orders a remission, and why?

<sup>95</sup> Pliny, *Paneg.* 74, 5.

<sup>96</sup> The references will be found in K. Scott's paper cited above.



ὅτι τῶν ὑπηκόων τὸ βέλτιστον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον γένος ἡλευθέρωσε, [τὴν Ἑλλάδα].<sup>97</sup> Much could be forgiven the emperor who who had freed Greece, and perhaps that reflection blunts the edge of his attack on Nero. Against the excesses of the more autocratic rulers, Plutarch, in company with Musonius and Dio Chrysostom and other philosophers, sets the picture of the ideal prince, the servant of the gods upon earth, who welcomes toil and hardship and recognizes his mortality, and who ministers justice, concord, and peaceableness to mankind.<sup>98</sup> Only through long processes and after much purification may the soul of a good man rise through various grades to the rank of god.<sup>99</sup> It is a protest against the Roman practice.

This note, once struck by Plutarch, finds many echoes. Momus, in Lucian, derides the ascription of divine honors to dead athletes and the cures they work: many unworthy and barbarian gods have crept into Olympus.<sup>100</sup> Pausanias is indignant at the cheapening of the conception of the divine nature by the easy bestowal of godhead upon dead athletes.<sup>101</sup> This uneasy sense of guilt is heard finally from dying Paganism in the fourth century. Sallustius, author of a handbook on The Gods and The Universe, writing at a time when men had lost one set of beliefs and were turning to another, reminds his readers that unbelief may in itself be a punishment heaven-sent: 'It is reasonable that those who have known the gods and despised them should in another life be deprived of this knowledge, and that Justice should cause those who honored kings of their own as gods to be banished from the true gods.'<sup>102</sup>

I have reserved to the last for brief mention the one nation which stubbornly set its face against any deification of man, — the Jews. In the *Legatio ad Gaium Philo* again and again as-

<sup>97</sup> I owe this quotation to Mr. F. H. Sandbach.

<sup>98</sup> The duties of a king are briefly set out in Plutarch, *Numa*, 6, and at greater length in various treatises. For Dio Chrysostom see V. Valdenberg, *La théorie monarchique de Dion Chrysostome*, *Rev. Études grecques*, XL, 1927, 142 ff. Throughout both writers are playing upon century-old themes.

<sup>99</sup> Plutarch, *Rom.* 28.

<sup>100</sup> Lucian, *deorum concilium*, 12, 14.

<sup>101</sup> Pausanias, VIII, 2, 4 and compare Galen's remarks, *Protrepticus*, IX, 22.

<sup>102</sup> Sallustius (ed. Nock), xviii, pp. 34/5.

serts the sinfulness of equating man with god, and upholds the sole claims of the true God to worship from mankind. His more worldly fellow, Josephus, makes similar protestations: indeed, following the hint thrown out by S. J. Case,<sup>103</sup> — that towards the end of Domitian's reign Josephus foresaw a new persecution, — I would venture to suggest that the long and lurid account of Gaius' assassination in Book XIX of the *Antiquities* is not only due to the desire to show how horrible a death God can devise for those who persecute His people; it also points a moral against those who allow flatterers to deify them or who claim to be gods themselves. This too is the purpose of the short but improving account of Agrippa's death (XIX, 343–350), and both these instances may be addressed to Domitian's ear. Jewish popular legend dealt hardly with the persecutor Gaius,<sup>104</sup> and still more hardly with the archenemy Titus, who had destroyed the Temple. He, too, impiously boasted to be a god, and so the true God sent against him the tiniest of living creatures to eat out his brain and drive him mad. Such treatises as the 'Aboda Zara (from the Jewish side)<sup>105</sup> and the *de Idololatria* of Tertullian (from the Christian), still remain to show the perplexities encountered by these monotheists in the conduct of their daily life amid Pagans, and not the least of these perplexities arose from the worship of the Emperors.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>103</sup> S. J. Case, 'Josephus' anticipation of a Domitianic persecution,' in *Journ. Bibl. Lit.* XLIV, 1925, 10 ff.

<sup>104</sup> See e.g. I. Lévi, in *Rev. d. Études juives*, XCI, 1931, 194 ff.

<sup>105</sup> See the translations by Danby or Elmslie mentioned in the Bibliography.

<sup>106</sup> There is no need to produce texts from the New Testament to show the hostility of the Christians to Emperor Worship or the difficulties they were bound to encounter in every-day life owing to that hostility. An interesting analogy may be found in the difficulties which Christian converts have to face in Japan; see the article by A. Pieters cited in the Bibliography. In Japan, too, apparently, as in the ancient world, a man may have his private worship of an admired figure: compare the (presumably) private cult vouched for by J. B. S. Haldane, *The Inequality of Man*, 179 'Robert Koch, the discoverer of the tubercle and cholera bacilli, is worshipped as a god in at least one Japanese laboratory.' — The explanation would be perhaps that given to a Catholic prelate by the governor of a city: — 'Although the word "Kami" continues to be used in the national cult, it has in no way the meaning of a supernatural being, which you give to it. It connotes only illustrious men, benefactors of their country. Consequently all Japanese, no matter what their religion, can pay them honor without doing violence to their conscience.' (Pieters, loc. cit. 349.)

But in spite of Plutarch's conscience, or of Jewish and Christian nonconformity, in Roman society by the beginning of the second century those who could express their feelings, the more educated, had attained a sane and consistent outlook towards ruler-worship. We mark first a greater confidence: looking back over the previous century many men must have felt like Aeneas, when Venus tore the veil from his eyes —

apparent dirae facies inimicaque Troiae  
numina magna deum —

they had felt the wrath of the gods lowering over the Roman state, and Tacitus in his *Annals* was to give this feeling its most mordant utterance.<sup>107</sup> With Nerva's advent the gods began to look with kindlier eyes on Rome, — 'tandem exorata numina.' It was certainly their foresight, *Providentia*, mediated through their servant and mouthpiece Nerva, that had brought about Trajan's adoption; that was their great and secret design — 'ingens illud arcanum' — which Nerva had made actual.<sup>108</sup> Such is Pliny's reading of events: over a hundred years later Herodian remarks that 'the Romans have a custom of deifying those emperors who die with sons to succeed them' (IV, 2, 1). There is a good deal of truth in this statement: nearly all the emperors who were deified *had* left a son, genuine or adopted, or a certain successor; Caligula, Nero, Otho, Vitellius, Domitian had definitely not. When the Arval brothers sacrificed for the adoption of Piso Licinianus by Galba, *Providentia* received mention (*Acta Frat. Arval.* CIL, VI, 2051). Is it too rash to see in the legend *PROVIDENTIA* that appears so often (accompanied by the globe that signifies power over the earth) on coins between Vespasian and Marcus Aurelius, a reference sometimes to the divine foresight that inspired an emperor to choose an heir and leave the succession certain and so avoid plunging Rome into civil war?<sup>109</sup>

<sup>107</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* IV, 1 and XV, 16, 'ira illa numinum in res Romanas fuit.'

<sup>108</sup> This sentence simply reproduces in English the following parts of the *Panegyricus*: 5, 8, 2, 10, 3 (cf. 56, 3), 23, 5.

<sup>109</sup> See Mattingly-Sydenham, *Rom. Imp. Coinage*, II, 123, 229, 415 and 418; III, 110, 114, 215, 218, 253, and 278/9. A study of the coin-types of the time in connection with some of the ideas expressed by Pliny in the *Panegyricus* would be interesting.

In life, then, the emperor is the minister of the gods upon earth, a man raised to the highest pinnacle of human eminence, but he is not a god and (if wise) he knows it. If he serves the human race well, — if he leaves a good successor also behind him,<sup>110</sup> — his merits will entitle him to be ennobled (*'honestari'* is the word the younger Pliny uses) by enrolment<sup>111</sup> in the ranks of the gods whom the state worships. To put it a little ludicrously the *Divi* enter as it were a celestial super-Senate of merit, in which Jupiter and the older gods are original members and to which the *Divi* are adlected by the Senate in Rome. Through two centuries the main idea alters little: *'dis te minorem quod geris imperas'* is still the motto. *'Sic fit,'* says Pliny to Trajan (Paneg. 52, 2), *'ut tibi di summum inter homines fastigium servant, cum deorum ipse non adoptes.'* On the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum Jupiter stretches out his thunderbolt towards the advancing emperor to show he has granted him the right to rule upon earth.<sup>112</sup> Even under Domitian Statius, while he makes the Sibyl prophesy (Silvae, IV, 3, 128 ff.)

en! hic est deus

lets her continue

hunc iubet beatis  
pro se Iuppiter imperare terris.

Jupiter still remains supreme.

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<sup>110</sup> *'certissima divinitatis fides est bonus successor'*; Paneg. II, 3, and cf. the passage of Herodian cited above.

<sup>111</sup> *'illum ego lucidas / inire sedes, ducere nectaris / sucos et adscribi quietis / ordinibus patiar deorum,'* Horace, Odes, III, 3, 33 ff.: *'hic est vetustissimus referendi bene merentibus gratiam mos, ut talis numinibus adscribant,'* Pliny, Hist. Nat. II, 19.

<sup>112</sup> E. Strong, *La Scultura Romana*, II, 194.



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# THE ORIGIN OF THE EGYPTIAN TOMB STATUE <sup>1</sup>

HERMANN RANKE

HEIDELBERG UNIVERSITY

It is known that from a very early period the burial customs of the Egyptians included the making of portrait statues of the dead in stone or other materials. Many of these, such as the 'Sheikh-el-beled' in Cairo, the Prince Hem-On in Hildesheim, and the 'Scribe' in the Louvre, are among the finest works of Egyptian art. We know also that this ancient custom survived in Egypt until about the beginning of the Christian era, and it has often been asserted that the type of the archaic statues of the Greeks was decisively influenced by the contemporary works of the Egyptians.<sup>2</sup> For these reasons the question of the origin of the Egyptian tomb statue has a general interest, outside the sphere of Egyptology.

But if we look for the answer to this question in works on Egyptian burial customs or on the history of Egyptian art, strangely enough, we do not find it. The statue is spoken of as the "abode of the soul" or as the "new dwelling place" in which the soul may find a refuge in case the body should perish in spite of the utmost precaution,<sup>3</sup> or it is called a "substitute" for the dead body which is so easily destroyed and which moreover, when mummified, no longer resembled the form of the living.<sup>4</sup> The statues are called "the imperishable bodies of the

<sup>1</sup> I must emphasize that the following discussion concerns only the use of the tomb statue as such, that is, an Egyptian funerary custom, not the origin of the Egyptian statue in general, as a feature of Egyptian art. Beside the tomb statue there was always from the earliest times the temple statue, the psychological basis for which lies elsewhere. I need mention only the discoveries in the oldest strata of the temples of Hierakonpolis and Abydos in which, besides the seated statue of King Khasekhem (J. E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I*, pls. 39, 41) and the ivory figurine of a king of the early period (W. M. F. Petrie, *Abydos II*, pl. 2, 3, 13; p. 24), there were found a number of statues and statuettes of various materials. The Min-statues from the temple of Coptos (J. Capart, *Primitive Art*, p. 223) also belong here.

<sup>2</sup> In the most recent literature this view seems to be much less favored.

<sup>3</sup> L. Curtius, *Antike Kunst I*, pp. 61 f.

<sup>4</sup> H. Kees, *Totenglauben*, pp. 84, 86.

ka," and it is said of them "since the body might be destroyed and the ka lose its resting place, the wealthy set up . . . statues which represented them as faithfully as possible."<sup>5</sup> H. Schäfer says of the statue that it is supposed to "keep alive the essential nature of the deceased," and he reminds us that the usual Egyptian word for 'sculptor' appears to designate him as one "who keeps alive."<sup>6</sup> All this merely testifies to the existence of the custom and connects it with the desire for a longer duration of the bodily existence; but for a real explanation of the origin we look in vain.

What were the mental processes out of which grew this strange custom of imitating the outward aspect of a man in stone or other material and setting up the image in his tomb in order to "keep him alive"? This is a custom which originated nowhere in the world outside of Egypt — not even in the civilization of Babylon, her ancient neighbor — but one which spread from Egypt in widening circles. As to when and where the custom arose in Egypt itself not a word is known. All that we can learn is that the Egyptians of the Old Kingdom did make such a likeness of the dead and placed it in a special chamber of the tomb; that to it were offered the food and drink brought at stated times by the living; and that in this statue the departed was supposed to maintain an existence and to be preserved from annihilation even if his human body should perish.

To begin with the last explanation, a serious objection occurs at once. If insuring the outward form of the dead from destruction was an important consideration, surely not wood, which in numberless instances has entirely disappeared, but only stone or metal would have been used. Or if the custom did originate in the belief that human beings are made immortal by the durable representation of the body, how comes it that not a single trace of any precursors of the grave statues of the Old Kingdom is found in the tombs of the entire prehistoric period or in those of the so-called Early Age, that is, the I<sup>st</sup> and II<sup>nd</sup> dynasties?

<sup>5</sup> G. Maspero, *Histoire ancienne* I (1895), p. 25 f.; *Études de mythologie* I (1893), p. 8. See also H. Erman, *Religion* <sup>2</sup> (1909), p. 148.

<sup>6</sup> H. Schäfer, *Propyläenkunst*, <sup>2</sup> p. 38.



Among the furnishings of the prehistoric graves, beside animal figurines, there are found, though not very frequently, human figures, usually of women, less often of men.<sup>7</sup> But these have always, and rightly, been considered as belonging to the retinue of the deceased and intended for his entertainment, — dancing girls, concubines, dwarfs. Of any plastic representation of the dead man himself not a trace has ever been found anywhere.<sup>8</sup>

The same is true of the royal tombs of the Ist and IInd dynasties at Abydos and of the private tombs of the same period at Naga-ed-Dêr in Upper Egypt.<sup>9</sup> If there had ever been, in the underground burial chambers of the seven kings' tombs at Abydos, statues or statuettes of these rulers, fragments of them at least must have survived, since more than half a dozen of the gravestones that stood above ground, and were therefore much more exposed, have been preserved.

We may then safely conclude that the practice of representing a person after his death by a portrait statue was unknown in the Egyptian tombs of the entire prehistoric period and in the royal tombs of the first two dynasties at Abydos, as well as in the many private graves of those two dynasties which have been examined in Upper Egypt.<sup>10</sup> The first tomb statues make their

<sup>7</sup> Cf. A. Scharff, *Die Altertümer der Vor- und Frühzeit Ägyptens* II, pp. 25–72.

<sup>8</sup> The eyes of black and white stone found by G. Möller together with a small club of lapis lazuli in a tomb near Abusir-el Meleq are not as yet explained, but considering the great weight of negative evidence, it is certainly not logical to interpret them as remains of a portrait statue of a king carrying a club, for they might just as well be from the figure of an armed attendant. It seems to me questionable however whether the slate statuette (h. 40 cm.) with sheath, in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, from the MacGregor collection (see *Recueil de travaux* XXII, p. 66, pl. VI) can be taken for an attendant. That it came from a tomb near Negada is, so far as I can see, pure conjecture. Indeed A. Scharff informs me that he considers it "not older than the Ist or IInd dynasty." May it not actually come from the Delta?

<sup>9</sup> G. A. Reisner, *The Early Dynastic Cemetery of Naga-ed-Dêr, Part I* (1908), and A. C. Mace, *ib.* Part II (1909).

<sup>10</sup> It is absent also from the later tombs of the provincial town of Upper Egypt which lay near the present Naga-ed-Dêr, down to the Vith dynasty, even from the great mastabas found there. Cf. Reisner, *A Provincial Cemetery of the Pyramid Age* (Naga-ed-Dêr III, Oxford, 1932). The same is true of the tombs of the IIIrd dynasty at Bêt-Khallaf and Reqâqnah, cf. J. Garstang, *Mahasna and Bêt-Khallaf* (1902) and *Tombs of the Third Dynasty at Reqâqnah and Bêt-Khallaf* (1904), and certainly also of the cemetery at Aulâd-es-Sheikh, although very little digging has been done there. Cf. H. Ranke, *Karara*, pp. 8 ff.

appearance, completely unheralded, about the time of the IIIrd dynasty, and not in an experimental stage but in a definitive form which clearly implies a previous development of some length. We find not only the life-size seated statue of King Zoser,<sup>11</sup> but also the figure of a kneeling man in Cairo<sup>12</sup> and the statue of an unknown seated man in Berlin.<sup>13</sup>

In these facts two points are to be noticed: In the first place, so striking a novelty seems to be introduced at the same time in both royal and private tombs, while as a rule funerary customs, such as mummification or the mastaba or pyramid form of tomb, were used first for the king and later extended to persons of distinction and sometimes finally to the whole people. Secondly, its occurrence is limited to the neighborhood of Sakkara-Memphis. The kneeling figure in Cairo and the seated statuette in Berlin were, it is true, acquired from dealers, but the first is said to have been found at "Mitrahine" and the second at "Abusir." The form of the tombs from which they came we do not know, but we can infer it, as we shall see.

The earliest Egyptian tomb statue which can be definitely dated and which was found in its original position is the statue of King Zoser of the IIIrd dynasty, who was buried about 2780 B.C. It represents the king seated on a throne, and it stood, not in the underground burial chamber, which has not yet been cleared, but in a separate room enclosed by a stone wall just to the north of the upper tomb, the so-called step-mastaba. In the north wall of this small building, at the level of the eyes of the statue inside, two round holes were made, evidently to serve as means of communication between the king dwelling within and the funerary priest outside, who provided him with food and drink, offered incense, and recited prayers.

<sup>11</sup> E. g. H. Schäfer, *Propyläenkunst*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 228 f.

<sup>12</sup> L. Borchardt, *Statuen I*, pp. 1 f. The material is dark "red-mottled hornblend granite." H. 39 cm. It is now listed as "Cairo 1."

<sup>13</sup> A. Scharff, *Altertümer II*, pl. 20 and pp. 65 f. H. 42.5 cm. The archaic seated figure in Naples, h. 44 cm. (Bissing-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler I*, pl. 3), the origin of which is unknown, may also belong here.

Where shall we look for the precursors <sup>14</sup> of this tomb statue of King Zoser, and how shall we explain the almost simultaneous advent of such statues for king and commoner alike? Where *not* to look for the preliminary development, we have seen. Such statues are lacking in the entire prehistoric period of Egypt as well as in the existing royal and private tombs of the I<sup>st</sup> and II<sup>nd</sup> dynasties; that is, the tomb statue was not a part of the funerary usage of early Upper Egypt. This usage required a subterranean home for the body — at first a grave dug in the sand, then a brick chamber, which in the case of the kings had a floor of wood and later of stone and by the end of the II<sup>nd</sup> dynasty was replaced by a stone chamber. In this grave or chamber the body was placed in a contracted position, at first wrapped in skins and mats, later enclosed in a coffin, and surrounded by the articles needed to ensure the continuance of its earthly life. Next, in place of the single chamber, several side chambers appear — a very great number in royal tombs — surrounding the burial chamber and containing the overflow of furnishings. Around the king's tomb was an army of small chamber tombs for his family, the wives and other dependents, and over them stelae were set up to keep alive for posterity the name of the king. But, for a representation of the person of the dead, there seems to be no place provided and no need felt. From this stage we cannot trace any development leading to the statue of King Zoser. There seems to be rather a leap across a void, bringing us to entirely new ground.

The thought at once occurs: May not this apparently new creation have had its development in that section of the country which, though veiled in darkness through the greater part of the history of Egypt, we are becoming more and more justified in regarding as the cradle of all its higher culture? May not the tomb statue have been a feature of the funerary customs of the kings of Lower Egypt? It is easy to set up the hypothesis; the question is only whether it can be measurably supported by facts.

<sup>14</sup> Here again we must bear in mind that the question concerns only the antecedents of tomb statues as such. A purely artistic precedent is seen in the slate statue mentioned above, of King Khasekhem of the II<sup>nd</sup> dynasty, from the temple of Hierakonpolis.

There is one important fact which has so far passed almost unnoticed. The royal cemetery of Umm-el Gaab at Abydos contains the tombs of all the known kings of the IInd dynasty, with the possible exception of Menes, but of those of the IInd dynasty only two of the latest, Kings Peribsen and Khasekhemui. Now where were the tombs of the earlier kings of the IInd dynasty, and what were they like? For the first question we have a definite clue in the kneeling statuette known as "Cairo 1," which is mentioned above as from Mitrahine, in Lower Egypt. On its right shoulder are engraved the Horus names of the first three kings of the IInd dynasty: *ḥtp-šḥm. wj, nb-r',* and *ntrj-mw*,<sup>15</sup> from which the inference is clear that the person represented had served in the cult of the dead for these three kings. Hence we must look for their burial places in the neighborhood of Memphis.<sup>16</sup> The same conclusion is to be drawn from the gravestone of a princess *šḥnr* (?), published by Quibell,<sup>17</sup> which to judge by its style belongs to the time of the IInd dynasty and which had been placed in a stately brick mastaba near Sakkara.<sup>18</sup> We can assume that this princess, like the daughters of Zoser,<sup>18a</sup> was buried not far from her father; hence for this king also, who must have been of the IInd dynasty, we are again led in the direction of Sakkara.<sup>19</sup> From two sides then we are led to conjecture that the earlier kings of the IInd dynasty, whose graves we found missing at Abydos, were buried in the vicinity of the later Memphis.

To our second question also this early gravestone of a princess from Sakkara affords an apparently convincing answer. If the princesses and, as we learn from Quibell's excavations, other

<sup>15</sup> As read by K. Sethe, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Ägyptens III*, pp. 39 ff.

<sup>16</sup> This is evidently the basis for Eduard Meyer's statement, *Geschichte des Altertums* 2 (1909) p. 132: "Spuren der Gräber des Binothis und seiner beiden Vorgänger sind bei Memphis erhalten."

<sup>17</sup> J. E. Quibell, *Archaic Mastabas* (1923), pl. 26 and p. 10.

<sup>18</sup> Further details in H. W. Müller, *Die Totendenksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, p. 174, note 6. I cannot accept his dating to the IIIrd dynasty. The style is much more archaic than the Hesire reliefs, and furthermore, this is the memorial of a royal princess, for whom one of the best artists of the time would have been employed.

<sup>18a</sup> See C. M. Firth in *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte XXV*, p. 149.

<sup>19</sup> It is true that no evidence of a mastaba of a king has yet been discovered in the immediate vicinity of the tombs among which Quibell found the princess's gravestone.



persons of high rank were buried in mastabas, the kings' tombs must also have had the form of a mastaba, if not of a step-mastaba; and we must imagine a huge royal mastaba surrounded by smaller ones belonging to important men, just as at Abydos the great subterranean chambers of the kings of the Ist dynasty were surrounded by smaller chambers of their household and retinue.

This suggests a general political situation at the beginning of the second dynasty of the Old Kingdom similar to that known to us at the beginning of the second dynasty of the Middle Kingdom, that is, the XIIth dynasty. The kings of the Ist dynasty, like those of the XIth, chose their burial places<sup>20</sup> in their homeland of Upper Egypt, although they ruled over both that part of the country and Lower Egypt, which they had conquered. With the kings of the IInd dynasty, as with those of the XIIth, the situation had changed. The inhabitants of the northern half of the empire objected to the "Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt" showing such partiality to one half of the realm, and demanded that the royal tombs be placed at the border where the two kingdoms came together and which in a sense belonged equally to both, — the place for which we later find the picturesque name "balance of the two lands."<sup>21</sup>

But if we recognize the influence of Lower Egypt in this transfer of the burial place of the kings to the north at the beginning of the IInd dynasty, and at the same time see that the form of their tombs, the mastaba (a monumental building of brick placed over the subterranean burial chamber), could not by any process of development be derived from the form of the royal tombs of Upper Egypt, we can readily infer that these first kings of the IInd dynasty merely adopted a form of burial that had developed in Lower Egypt, the beginnings of which, like almost everything in the early history of the Delta, have completely disappeared.

<sup>20</sup> The royal residence during the Ist dynasty (*cf.* K. Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, pp. 178 f.), as well as in the IInd, must for political reasons have been in the region of the later Memphis.

<sup>21</sup> That the last two kings of the IInd dynasty again had their tombs built at Abydos must have been due to some special reason, but at present I can advance no plausible explanation.

From these considerations I would deduce the following hypothesis: At some prehistoric period unknown to us, and in Lower Egypt when that kingdom was not yet united with Upper Egypt, the position of the burial chamber of the king was marked on the surface of the ground by a monument of Nile mud or brick, the primitive form of the mastaba.<sup>22</sup> In course of time this structure came to be regarded as a dwelling of the dead king and before it the usual offerings of food and drink were laid. But while the occupant of the underground chamber had only to turn over or raise himself up in order to reach the provisions placed around ready to his hand, there was a double anomaly for the king of the primitive mastaba: his body rested below the earth, at a distance from the offerings which were brought fresh every day, while the mastaba house, standing directly behind these offerings, was empty, a dwelling without a master. Very naturally it was thought that this upper sepulchre ought also to be given an occupant in tangible form, and the first tomb statue was the embodiment of this thought.

The portrait statue in a tomb would then have been devised in the first place for a king of the still independent realm of Lower Egypt, and developed under his successors, perhaps to a high artistic level.

Since Menes and all the kings of the Ist dynasty who followed him kept to the burial customs of Upper Egypt, which knew nothing of a tomb statue, this development was interrupted for some two centuries; but the first king of the IIInd dynasty revived the usage when he adopted the Lower Egyptian type of royal sepulchre, and after a brief interval under the last two kings of the dynasty, who returned to the customs of Upper Egypt, it underwent the magnificent development which we know. That we find these portrait statues of both kings and subjects appearing at about the beginning of the IIIrd dynasty

<sup>22</sup> Later it developed the familiar niche-structure, which Balcz (*Die altägyptische Wandgliederung*, 1930, p. 19) has designated as characteristic for the Lower-Egyptian form of royal tomb. No satisfactory explanation has been given of the so-called "Tomb of Menes" at Negada, which has this structure. It is a huge mastaba, not built over subterranean chambers but containing above ground a number of rooms grouped about a burial chamber.

may be due to the fact that at about this time, if not earlier,<sup>23</sup> the ancient distinction of the tomb statue, originally accorded to royalty alone in Lower Egypt, was extended, together with the privilege of the mastaba, to the higher officials of the kingdom.

If these conclusions, which I submit to the judgment of scholars, prove to be correct, the absence of portrait statues in the royal tombs at Abydos and the apparently simultaneous appearance of such statues of kings and commoners alike at about the beginning of the IIIrd dynasty would be satisfactorily explained.

Moreover, the use of statues for graves, which has spread over the whole civilized world, would form one more link in the chain of higher civilization which the Egyptians of the historical period owed to their predecessors in Lower Egypt.

<sup>23</sup> It is just possible that this change took place in Lower Egypt before the union under Menes. In that case the use of tomb statues for the higher officials of Lower Egypt may have developed further during the time of the Ist dynasty.





## NOTES

### ABRAHAM AND THE QUEST FOR GOD

IN HIS book *Conversion*, 107 ff., Professor A. D. Nock discusses the "general schema" common to Jewish and Christian literature, and occasionally to be found in pagan writings, in which the convert describes his quest for peace and satisfaction through a variety of religions, until at last he finds the truth.

The theme would appear to have a fairly lengthy history behind it in Jewish literature. In Judaism the great "convert" is Abraham; we read of his call in Genesis 12:1 without any explanation of the reason for which he was selected for his special vocation. A thorough-going predestinarian of the type of St Paul would no doubt have said that God chose him for no merit of his own, and that it would be impious to ask for a reason. But it is not given to most men to be consistent predestinarians. The rabbis of a later period were interested in the whole question of predestination; and it would seem from Josephus that the question agitated the schools of Palestine even before the Christian era.<sup>1</sup> The early Pharisees were not predestinarians in theory, though it is quite probable that individuals would have advocated predestination, if driven to do so in order to prove a thesis, just as St Paul does; the general position is merely the ordinary compromise made by every theistic religion (and of course by St Paul himself), that there is a divine predestination, and yet that the will of man is free.

So it was natural that Jewish writers should ask the reason for the choice of Abraham. Possibly the question would arise most naturally in the proselytizing Judaism of the Dispersion; the would-be proselyte would enquire why God had selected Abraham to be the father of the chosen people, while the born Jew might take it for granted. At the same time in the case of the latter the curiosity that was the original cause of many rabbinical legends could have found no more stimulating mystery than this sudden call.

In any case it is clear that our earliest legends as to Abraham's finding of God come from Hellenistic-Jewish sources.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the article *Fate and Free Will* in Josephus, G. F. Moore, *Harvard Theological Review*, Oct. 1929.

The first is the 'Orphic' fragment quoted by Aristobulus, Clement of Alexandria and the Pseudo-Justin. If Aristobulus, as quoted by Eusebius (Pr. Ev. 13.12), is genuine, the beginning of the Abraham-legend can be dated back to the age of Ptolemy Philometor (170–150 B.C.). Aristobulus quotes, as already in existence, the Jewish Orphic verses, in which he proclaims the unity of God. According to this fragment the one true God cannot be seen by man; he has only been seen by an only-begotten offshoot of the race of the Chaldeans, who apparently was enabled to come to the vision of God through his knowledge of the stars. ἵδρις γὰρ ἔην ἄστροιο πορείης καὶ σφαίρης κίνημ' ἀμφὶ χθόνα ὡς περιτέλλει. Clement takes the passage to refer either to Abraham or his son, but Isaac is out of the question; Isaac is never credited with any knowledge of astrology; Abraham is, as we shall see, credited with its invention, and there is at least Genesis 15:5 to justify it.<sup>2</sup>

The next appearance of the legend is in a fragment, quoted by Alexander Polyhistor (circa 80–40 B.C.), as coming from Eupolemus. If we could accept Eupolemus as the source the date would be about 155 B.C. But it seems probable that Alexander Polyhistor has made a mistake, since he quotes from an anonymous source a second fragment which is simply a summary of the longer section given earlier.<sup>3</sup> In this fragment we have the beginning of the quest of Abraham for God: —

"In the tenth generation in Camarina, a city of Babylon which some call Ur, Abraham was born in the thirteenth generation, excelling all in noble birth and wisdom, who discovered astrology and Chaldaism (τὴν Χαλδαϊκὴν) and seeking to attain to εὐσεβεία found favour with God."

The story bears a suspicious resemblance to the fragment of Berossus, which Josephus applies to Abraham in Antt. 1, 7, 2. "In the tenth generation after the Flood there was among the Chaldeans a righteous and great man, and skilled in celestial matters."<sup>4</sup> Josephus admits that Abraham is not mentioned by name; it looks as if Abraham had become the same person as his ancient enemy Amraphel-Hammurabi. But the identification would hardly have been made, if Abraham had not already been the father of astrology.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the authenticity of Aristobulus, cf. Schürer, G.J.V. 3, 512 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The two fragments are preserved by Eusebius, Pr. Ev. 9, 17 and 18. In any case the earlier version of the fragment, since it represents Melchisedek as priest-king of Gerizim, not Jerusalem, seems to be of Samaritan origin.

<sup>4</sup> Gifford suggests that the confusion of the text as between the tenth and thirteenth generations is due to the appearance of the phrase "after three generations" in c. 19 below. The explanation seems singularly unsatisfactory but I cannot offer a better one. The tenth generation is correct according to Genesis 11: 10 ff.

There was, of course, an excellent reason why Abraham should be represented as the father of astrology in the first century B.C.: for astrology was gaining ground as the true explanation of the universe, which could by interpretation be found in the older religions. Antiquity was one of the main grounds on which a cult could claim superiority to others; it is a commonplace of first century literature to suppose that the first races of mankind worshipped the heavenly bodies, i. e., that solar and astral cults were the "natural" religion of mankind, and therefore true. The Judaism of the Dispersion regarded the cults of the heavenly bodies as less pernicious than pure idolatry; it admitted that there was something in astrology, for the heavenly bodies had been placed as "signs."<sup>5</sup> There could be no more telling argument in favour of Judaism than that Abraham, the father of the nation, had been the discoverer of astronomy and astrology, but had abandoned the latter in favour of true monotheism. At the same time the story had the advantage of explaining the sudden call of Abraham in Genesis; he was called because of the piety which led him to abandon the astral cults of the Chaldeans in favour of the one true God.

The earliest non-Hellenistic version of the legend is the Book of Jubilees, dated by Charles as between 135 and 105 B.C. In 11:16 we are told that at the age of two weeks Abraham separated himself from his father, that he might not worship idols. In 12:1 ff. he tries to convert Terah, who agrees with him, but is afraid to say so. He quarrels with his brothers on the matter. At the age of 60 he burns the house of the idols and Haran perishes in the fire. One night he observes the stars in order to obtain a weather-forecast for the year; but a word comes into his heart rebuking him, on the ground that the seasons are in the hand of the Lord. This account of Abraham's astronomy is peculiar. Philo and the Pharisees accepted the view that the celestial bodies are signs, and would have regarded such a proceeding as legitimate. Our author regards it as wrong, or at least as unworthy of Abraham's trust in God. It looks as though the writer knew the Hellenistic form of the legend which we have been considering, and rejected it. Abraham never had anything to do with idolatry, but recognised the Creator of all things from his birth; nor with astronomy, which he felt to be unworthy of a true faith, even in its most innocent form. The later rabbinical views on Abraham's relation to idolatry and astronomy vary; in the collection of stories in Beresith Rabba, 39 and 44 we hear from R. Nehemia (c. 160 A.D.), on Genesis 12:1 that he was an idolater for many years. But Bar Kappara (c. 220 A.D.), on

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Wisdom 13 and Philo, *De Mund.* Op. 19, M. 1. 13.

the same verse, identifying Abraham with the "little sister" of Cant. 8:8 holds that he trained himself from infancy in the practice of religious duties and good works, though he had neither father nor mother to train him. On 15:5 the general opinion is that God raised Abraham to the firmament and showed him the host of heaven below, in order that he might learn to despise them, and so realise his superiority to them.

Josephus gives a thoroughly Hellenistic version of the story (Antt. 1, 7, 1.) "He was the first who dared to show that there is one creator of all things; anything else that contributes to well-being does so by his command and not by its own power. He conjectured this from the affections of the earth and sea, and those of the sun and moon and the heavenly bodies." With this we may compare the account of the laws of Zaleucus of Locri, the Pythagorean, in Diodorus Siculus 12.20. "In the prelude to his legislation he said that those who dwelt in the city must believe in the existence of the Gods and, observing in their minds the heaven and its order and arrangement, must believe that these things are not the work of chance or of men, and reverence the gods as being the cause of all that is good in the life of man, and keep their souls free from all evil, since the gods rejoice not in the sacrifices and lavishness of the wicked but in the good and righteous actions of virtuous men." We only need to omit the reference to the city and to put the gods into the singular to get a passage which might be any Hellenistic Jew's account of Moses. Josephus adds a detail which is of some importance, to the effect that Abraham quarrelled with the Chaldeans and the rest of the Mesopotamians on the matter, and so decided to migrate to Canaan. It will be observed that the arbitrary will of God has disappeared; the quarrel is important, since it shows the growth of the legend. In Jubilees there is no suggestion that the quarrel with his brothers had anything to do with his departure.<sup>6</sup>

Naturally Philo is full of allegorisations of the story of Abraham. In *De Abr.* 13 ff. (M. 2. 10) we have account of the call, which adheres fairly closely to the Biblical narrative. "Seeing the order of

<sup>6</sup> Georgius Syncellus ascribes to Josephus a fuller form of the story. "In his fourteenth year he recognised and worshipped the God of the universe; he broke the idols of his father and burnt them with the house. His brother Haran was burnt with them in an attempt to put out the fire. He admonished his father to abandon idolatry and the making of idols, as Josephus says." Josephus says nothing of the kind in his extant works, and this part of the story is simply taken from Jubilees, which he has quoted earlier. The only detail taken from Josephus is that he taught the Egyptians astrology and arithmetic.



nature and the constitution of the world, which is better than words can describe, he is taught . . . to practice a law-abiding and peaceful life, looking stedfastly towards being made like to the good. [*εἰς τὴν τῶν καλῶν ἐξομοίωσιν ἀποβλέποντα*].” Hence when he is called to leave his country, he does so without hesitation. But “according to the laws of allegory” his leaving Chaldea stands for his recognising that the universe is not God: he departs to Charran (which means “holes” and stands for the senses) in order that by studying man, the microcosm, he may come to know the Mind that rules the universe. Here, it will be observed, Abraham begins by seeing through astrology, and there are many other passages, e. g., *De Migr. Abr.* 32 ff. (M. 1. 463). One of these is important, *De Gigant.* 13 ff. (M. 1. 271). The sons of God in *Gen.* 6:4 are souls descending into bodies. Some become men of earth, some men of heaven, some men of God. Abram (*πατὴρ μετέωρος*) is a man of heaven, since he follows reason, the highest thing in us, and especially uses it for the study of the celestial bodies; but he rises from this to the knowledge of the Creator and is called Abraham (*πατὴρ ἐκλεκτοῦ ἡχοῦς*) and becomes a man of God. On the other hand the type of the man of earth is Nimrod, whose name means “desertion,” for it is desertion to abandon reason in favour of the lower nature. The treatment of Abraham is commonplace; but why this sudden introduction of Nimrod? He is not one of Philo’s stock types, and only reappears at *Quaest. in Gen.* 2:82, where the nature of the commentary demands it. Lot would have served the purpose of the allegory perfectly well, as he does in *De Migr. Abr.* 3 (M. 1. 438).

The only explanation of Nimrod would seem to be that the legends of Abraham had already assumed a fairly developed form, in which Nimrod is king of Babylon and the arch-enemy of Abraham. This is a matter of some interest. We have seen that in *Jubilees* we have a fairly full version of the legend; but it has already been amplified in two points, the quarrel with the Chaldeans and the intervention of Nimrod, by the time of Philo and Josephus. But the Hellenistic form of the legend remains true to the view that Abraham’s call was the reward of his search for God, or, if we like to say so, the result of it; he passes through the study of the universe and the heavenly bodies to the knowledge of God: in Philo he passes through the study of man. We are dealing with an obvious missionary argument.

On the other hand the purely Jewish version follows a different line. We are even told that Abraham was predestined from before the Creation to repair the transgression of Adam (*Ber. Rabba*, 14 on *Genesis* 2:7). In our earliest Jewish version he sees the folly of idolatry from

his childhood, though in some versions he only rebels against idolatry later, as a result of assisting in his father's shop. At some period of his life he indulges in a general breaking-up of Terah's images, and is brought before Nimrod, king of Babylon. (It would seem that Nimrod is Abraham's oppressor because he is the founder of Babylon and Nineveh in Genesis 10:10 ff. The founder of the oppressing empires naturally persecutes the founder of the chosen people.) He defeats Nimrod in argument, and is cast into a burning fiery furnace, from which he escapes unhurt, while his brother Haran perishes as a result of doubting at the critical moment. Moslem legends go further, and attach to his birth a slaughter of the Innocents, based on St Matthew's Gospel: Abraham is hidden in a cave by his parents, and when brought out begins by worshipping each of the heavenly bodies as they rise; he withdraws his worship when they set. It is interesting to observe that this elaboration merely carries forward the tendency apparent in the earliest Jewish forms of the legend to eliminate any real quest for God on the part of Abraham. The theology of grace and predestination takes its place. Abraham is foreordained, and endowed with a miraculous knowledge of God from the very outset. The Palestinian-Jewish version expresses the view of a Judaism which was only mildly interested in making proselytes and had no concern for variations in degree as between different forms of idolatry. It reflects the attitude of those who have Abraham for their father.

The Hellenistic form reflects an entirely different attitude. The Judaism of the Dispersion was concerned to make converts; it had to recognise that cosmic and astral interpretations of Gentile cults which tended towards monotheism were nearer to the truth, if only because they were harder to convict of error, than the Olympian theology or the cruder forms of polytheism. It is of interest since it is an adaptation of a commonplace of those philosophical schools which accepted some form of theistic religion, the belief that a study of the universe should lead to a recognition of its author or authors. As expanded by Philo the story becomes a real quest of the soul for truth. Is it fanciful to suggest that it goes back to the quest of Socrates in the *Phaedo* (96a ff.) which begins with the physicists, and goes on to the Mind of Anaxagoras, which proves to be merely another name for physical philosophy, and ends with the Idea of the Good?

WILFRED LAWRENCE KNOX

THE ORATORY HOUSE,  
CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND

THE TEXT USED BY EUSEBIUS IN DEMONSTRATIO  
EVANGELICA IN QUOTING FROM MATTHEW  
AND LUKE <sup>1</sup>

"SCARCELY less important than the quotations of Origen are those of Eusebius, for which the manuscript tradition is far better. They must be collected Gospel by Gospel, and compared with the text of family  $\theta$ ." So writes Kirsopp Lake in "The Caesarean Text of the Gospel of Mark" (Harvard Theol. Review, Oct. 1928, 329). In that volume a list of quotations is given from Eusebius' *Demonstratio Evangelica* for the Gospel of Mark (278-280), which "proves beyond doubt that the text was the same as that found in a slightly corrupt form in family  $\theta$ ." The present writer has drawn up lists of the quotations from the other Gospels found in the same writing of Eusebius (similar to the lists he drew up for Matthew and Luke from Origen's *Exhortatio ad Martyrium* (J. T. S. Jan. 1935) with a view to discovering how far the Fam  $\theta$  remains homogeneous in Gospels other than Mark; how far it contains a text specifically different from other ancient pre-revised texts, and how far it is possible to speak of a "Caesarean text" for the other Gospels.

<sup>1</sup> The Collation has been made with the Oxford Text of *Novum Testamentum* 1876, which gives the text of Mill's edition. Readings of  $\theta$  have been verified from Beerman and Gregory's edition of "Die Koridethi Evangelien"; those of 1 etc. from Lake's edition in *Texts and Studies* vol. 7; those of W from Sanders' "Washington mss. of the Four Gospels"; those of D from Scrivener's *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis*; and those of N (described by Streeter as a 'poor relation' of Fam  $\theta$ ) from Cronin's edition in *Texts and Studies* vol. 8. The Berlin edition has been used for the text of Eusebius.

## QUOTATIONS FROM MATTHEW IN EUSEBIUS' DEMONSTRATIO EVANGELICA WHERE THE TEXT DIFFERS FROM TEXTUS RECEPTUS

Matthew	Members of Fam $\theta$ in support	Neutrals in support	Reading in Eusebius	Members of Fam $\theta$ in opposition	Neutrals in opposition
1 <sup>18</sup>	$\theta$ 1	NBC	γεννησις] γενεσις		
1 <sup>20</sup>			εφανη] φανερα		
1 <sup>22</sup>			εξει] ληνηται with LXX of Isaiah 7 <sup>14</sup>		
2 <sup>6</sup>			γη Ιουδα] οικος του Εφραθα with LXX of Micah 5 <sup>2</sup>		
2 <sup>8</sup>	1. 124	NBC* 33	ακριβος εξετασατο] εξετασατο ακριβως	$\theta$	L
5 <sup>39</sup>	1	NB 33	σου σιαγωνα] σιαγωνα σου		
5 <sup>46</sup>			οστις		
8 <sup>25</sup>	1. 13. 124	N	τους ανεμους] τω ανεμω	$\theta$	B. C.
8 <sup>29</sup>			ωδε] omit		
9 <sup>9</sup>	$\theta$ N 124	D	δ Ιησους εκειθεν] εκειθεν ο Ιησους	1.	B
			λεγομενον] ονοματι		
9 <sup>10</sup>		NC	λεγει] ειπεν		
		N*	αυτου ανακειμενου] ανακειμενου αυτου	$\theta$ N 1	BL
12 <sup>19</sup>			ελθοντες] omit	$\theta$ N 1	N <sup>B</sup>
12 <sup>21</sup>			ακουσει] ακουσεται		
13 <sup>10</sup>	Syr eu W	C	εν] επι	$\theta$	NBL
		N*	μαθηται] μαθηται αυτου		B
13 <sup>13</sup>			λαλεις αυτοις] αυτοις λαλεις		B
14 <sup>24</sup>	$\theta$ 1.	D	οτι ου βλεπουσι etc.] να μη βλεπωσι etc.	N	NC
			μεσων] εν μεσω (Hic habent	1	
			σταδιους πολλους απο της γης απειχε B. 13. απειχεν απο		
			της γης σταδιους ικανους $\theta$ σταδιους της γης απειχεν		
			ικανους 700)		L
14 <sup>25</sup>	$\theta$ 1	WD NBC	Ιησους] om		
14 <sup>28</sup>	$\theta$ 1. 13	D NBC	την θαλασσαν] της θαλασσης		



Matthew	Members of Fam θ in support	Neutrals in support	Reading in Eusebius	Members of Fam θ in opposition	Neutrals in opposition
14 <sup>23</sup>	θ 1. 13	WD	προς σε ελθεν] ελθεν προς σε ο πετρος] πετρος και αποκριθεις] αποκριθεις δε οτι] om	θ 1.	CL
16 <sup>17</sup>	θ 1. 13	D	ταυτη τη πετρα] ταυτη την πετραν	θ	B
16 <sup>18</sup>	θ 1.	D	ο εαν] οσα αν ου] οπου	1	B
16 <sup>18</sup>	θ 1.	D	εκ κοιλις μητρος] omit	θ N	B
18 <sup>20</sup>	θ N	D	των ανθρωπων] ανθρωπων	θ N	B
19 <sup>12</sup>	1	D	πορευθητε] πορευεσθε	1	C
21 <sup>2</sup>	θ	D	απεναντι] κατεναντι	N 1	B
21 <sup>2</sup>	θ 700	D	μετ' αυτης] omit	θ N 1	W
21 <sup>9</sup>		D	προαγοντες] οι προαγοντες	θ	
21 <sup>9</sup>	1 69 124	D	προαγοντες] προαγοντες αυτον εκραζον] επευφημουν		
21 <sup>10</sup>		D	Ιεροσολυμα] τα Ιεροσολυμα	N 1	
21 <sup>11</sup>	θ	D	Ιησους ο προφητης] ο προφητης Ιησους (ο προφητης solum 13. 124)		
21 <sup>11</sup>	θ	D	Ναζαρετ] Ναζαρεθ	N 28 700	L C
21 <sup>13</sup>	θ 124	D	εποιησατε] ποιειτε		D
22 <sup>42</sup>		D	υμν δοκει περι του Χριστου] υμν περι του Χριστου δοκει του αιματος] αιματος	θ 1 θ 1	B
23 <sup>35</sup>		D	ποσακις] πολλakis		
23 <sup>37</sup>		D	επισυναγαγειν] επισυναξει		
23 <sup>37</sup>	θ 1	D	αγιοι] omit		
25 <sup>31</sup>	θ 1	D	αργυρια] στατηρας	θ	
26 <sup>16</sup>	1	D			

Care has been taken only to use passages where Eusebius is definitely quoting from Matthew; but the large number of readings apparently peculiar to him suggests that he is not always quoting accurately. The following facts emerge from this list.

- (1) Out of 69 variant readings 24 are peculiar.
- (2) Out of the remaining 45 there are 13 instances where one or more members of Fam  $\theta$  are found in agreement with Eusebius without any support from the Neutral Text.

On the other hand it should be noted that Eusebius is found in agreement with **NB** 19 times and with **N** alone some six times.

- (3) In no less than 8 out of the 13 instances where Fam  $\theta$  is found in support to the exclusion of the Neutral Text, D is found in agreement with Fam  $\theta$ . This reminds us that Von Soden (wrongly as is usually agreed) grouped together D,  $\theta$ , 565, 700. Whether this grouping is right or wrong the support given by D in these passages to Fam  $\theta$  suggests that there is no specific Fam  $\theta$  text for Matthew. Fam  $\theta$  contains a large number of unrevised readings, which are very often the readings of **NB** and sometimes those of the "Western" D. Although individual members of the family, particularly  $\theta$ , have suffered revision from the Textus Receptus, the unity of the family on the whole is maintained, but the evidence does not allow us to say that the text of Fam  $\theta$  was the text used by Eusebius for Matthew at Caesarea.

QUOTATIONS FROM MATTHEW IN EUSEBIUS' DEMONSTRATIO EVANGELICA WHERE THE TEXT DIFFERS FROM TEXTUS RECEPTUS (*continued*)

Matthew	Members of Fam θ in support	Neutrals in support	Reading in Eusebius	Members of Fam θ in opposition	Neutrals in opposition
26 <sup>16</sup>	θ	D	παράδω] παραδω αυτοις	1.	NBL
26 <sup>21</sup>			και εσθιοντων] εσθιοντων τε	1.	
26 <sup>22</sup>	θ 69. 700.	D	λεγειν αυτω] λεγειν	1.	
26 <sup>39</sup>	1.	L	πατερ μου] πατερ	θ 1	D NBC
26 <sup>42</sup>			ου δυναται] μη δυνατον εστιν	θ 1	
27 <sup>3</sup>			τα τριακοντα αργυρια] το αργυριον	θ 1	NBC
27 <sup>4</sup>		L 33	ειπον] ειπαν	θ 1	
27 <sup>4</sup>			ειπον] plus αυτω	θ 1	
27 <sup>5</sup>	θ 69. 124	NBL 33	εν τω ναω] ες τον ναον	1	
27 <sup>8</sup>			σημερον] σημερον ημερας	θ 1	
27 <sup>10</sup>		κ	εδωκαν] εδωκα (bis)	θ 1	
27 <sup>27</sup>			του ηγεμονος] του πελατου	θ 1	
27 <sup>28</sup>		NBL	περιεβηκαν αυτω χλαμυδα		
	θ 69. 124.	D	κοκκην] χλαμυδα κοκκην	1	
			περιεβηκαν αυτω	1	D
27 <sup>29</sup>	θ 69. 124.	NBL	επι την κεφαλην] επι της κεφαλης		
27 <sup>29</sup>			επι την δεξιαν] εν τη χειρι		BL
27 <sup>35</sup>	θ 1.	D	βαλλοντες] βαλοντες	1	NBL
27 <sup>40</sup>	θ	D	ο καταλυων] οια ο καταλυων		
			γραμματαων και πρεσβυτερων]	θ 1. 69. 124	NBL 33
27 <sup>41</sup>		D	πρεσβυτερων και γραμματαων		
27 <sup>43</sup>	θ 1.	D	πεποιθεσ] ει πεποιθεν		
27 <sup>45</sup>	θ 1.	D	ενιατης] ενιατης		
27 <sup>45</sup>		NBL	Ηλ. Ηλ.] αηλι		
27 <sup>45</sup>			εσχισθη εις δυο] εσχισθη	θ 1.	κ
27 <sup>45</sup>					

## QUOTATIONS FROM LUKE IN EUSEBIUS' DEMONSTRATIO EVANGELICA WHERE TEXT DIFFERS FROM TEXTUS RECEPTUS

Luke	Members of Fam θ in support	Neutral authorities in support	Readings in Eusebius	Members of Fam θ in opposition	Neutral authorities in opposition
1 <sup>86</sup>	1. 28. 700	NCL	Ναζαρετ] Ναζαρεθ	θ 1	NBL
1 <sup>87</sup>			+ και πατριας	θ	B
1 <sup>89</sup>	1. 28. 69. 565. 700	DW	-τω	θ	
1 <sup>70</sup>			αγιων των απ'] αγιων απ'	θ 1	
2 <sup>1</sup>	1. 700	W	+ του ante απογραφεσθαι	θ	D
2 <sup>3</sup>	565	W	την ιδιαν] την εαυτου	θ 1	C
2 <sup>9</sup>	565. 700		-δου	θ 1	C
2 <sup>12</sup>	θ 1. 565	W	κειμενον] και κειμενον (Licet N* D. 68 omnino omitunt)		
2 <sup>15</sup>			γεγονος] γενομενον		
4 <sup>16</sup>	θ 1. 13.	W	τεθραμμενος] ανατεθραμμενος		B
4 <sup>18</sup>	θ 1. 700	D	ευαγγελιζεσθαι] ευαγγελισασθαι	θ 1	
4 <sup>18</sup>	13 700	D	-ιασασθαι τους συντεριμμενους την καρδιαν	θ 1	
4 <sup>19</sup>			κηρυξαι] κλειψαι	θ 1	
6 <sup>14</sup>			ωνομασε] εκαλεσεν		
6 <sup>14</sup>			και ante φιλιππον	θ 1	P <sup>45</sup> D
12 <sup>49</sup>	θ N. 1. 13. 700	D	εις] επι		
22 <sup>4</sup>		W	το πως] ινα		
22 <sup>64</sup>	1. 124	NBL	τον οικον] την οικιαν	θ	D
22 <sup>64</sup>		NBL	αφαντων] περιφαντων	θ 1 700	D
22 <sup>65</sup>			ο του θεου εκλεκτος] ο υιος του		
23 <sup>48</sup>	θ	NBL	θεου ο εκλεκτος	θ	
24 <sup>1</sup>	θ	NBL 33	παρθησομαι] παρατιθεμαι		
		D	βαθεος] βαθεος	1	D BC <sup>2</sup> L
		N <sup>C</sup> *	μημημα] μημειον	θ 1	



The following interesting points emerge from this table.

- (1) Out of these 23 readings 5 are peculiar.
- (2) Of the remaining 18 there is no instance where a member of Fam  $\theta$  agrees with Eusebius to the exclusion of Neutral support.
- (3) Fam  $\theta$  remains a family, though the text of  $\theta$  as in Matthew has been assimilated to a large degree to Textus Receptus.
- (4) Eusebius agrees with **NB** 14 times and twice with **N**.
- (5) D is only once found out of company with a member of Fam  $\theta$ .
- (6) As Saunders has shown, W in the first eight chapters of Luke clearly has a Neutral text.
- (7) As in the case of the quotations from Matthew Fam  $\theta$  does not appear to possess a text different from that of the Neutral authorities or Codex Bezae. All we can say is that its members contain a large number of ancient unrevised readings, which are sometimes those of **NB** and sometimes those of D.
- (8) The text of **NB** has more right to be called the Caesarean text used by Eusebius than Fam  $\theta$ .

R. V. G. TASKER

KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON



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